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ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY

Seal of Hugh O'Neill, King of Ulster

Volume IX

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A TRUE PORTRAIT OF

HUGH O'NEILL, PRINCE AND EARL OF TYRONE,

BY DESCENT KING AND LORD OF IRELAND.

DIED AT ROME, A.D. 1616.

Copied from Primo Damaschino's rare work, "La Spada d'arione Stellata nel campo di marte" (Rome, 1680), in the library of Count Jorge O'Neill of Lisbon.

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EDITED BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A., ARDRIE, BELFAST.

Hugh O'Neill.

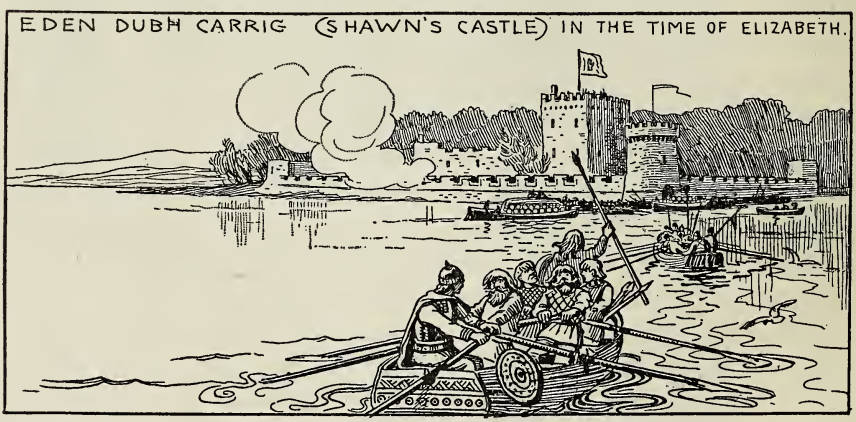
NOTE FROM "PACATA HIBERNIA," BY STANDISH O'GRADY.

HUGH O'NEILL, Earl of Tyrone, the greatest man of action of the Irish race who has appeared in modern times, was the son of Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon, son of Lame Con, the O'Neill, and first Earl of Tyrone. Lame Con submitted himself, people, and lands to Henry VIII., who re-granted to him all Tir-Owen, and the rents and services of divers Ulster lords, of old time subject to the O'Neill. The grant was to himself for life, remainder in *tail male* to his eldest son, Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon, by English writers called Matthew. Ferdoragh means "the dark man" —*Fear*, man; *dorcadh*, dark. Ferdoragh was illegitimate, and known to be illegitimate; but illegitimacy counted for little in Ireland, and could have counted for little generally in an age in which Henry VIII. endeavoured to secure the throne of England for his illegitimate son, the Earl of Southampton. Froude says that this was his only illegitimate child. But Froude, as usual, is wrong. Though personally I incline to think that, as kings go, bluff King Hal was not an unusually bad specimen of the species. Lame Con's appearance at Henry's Court curiously coincided with the first step upwards of the famous Cecil. While Lame Con was conversing with his august overlord, not yet his King, for Henry was at the time only *Dominus Hiberniæ*, his entourage of gallowglasses, harpers, poets, shanachies, priests, etc., waited in the anteroom. With two of the priests young Cecil fell into argument touching the King's claim to be head of the Church, and in the ensuing controversy acquitted himself so well on the King's side that next day he received his first promotion.

Cecil was a supple and time-serving politician, and by no means a statesman. I agree with the estimate which Macaulay has formed of his character.

Lame Con, having begotten Ferdoragh and divers other children, married in due form a lady of the house of Campbell, and begot the famous Shane O'Neill (Shane the Proud).

Shane, growing to man's estate, argued thus: "By English law this patent with remainder to my father's bastard son is bad and contrary to all reputable English precedents. By Irish law neither Ferdoragh nor I have a good claim, for we are both youths, and the O'Neillship appanages in lands and tributes and services should go to the next eldest of the blood-royal of Tir-Owen, Turlough Lynagh or another. But at all events I have a better right than Ferdoragh the bastard." Seniority—within the blood-royal—not election as represented in popular works, was the principle of succession laid down by Irish law as governing the devolution of chieftainships.



So Shane very properly rose-out against Ferdoragh and the State, slew Ferdoragh, slew Ferdoragh's eldest son, made himself the O'Neill, and stood out in arms there in the North ready to fight all comers in defence of his alleged rights. He beat the State. He beat down all recalcitrant feudatories. He beat hostile neighbours, and eventually made himself lord of all Ulster. Having achieved that position, he stepped forward and said to Elizabeth, "Peace or war, which you will? If you say 'peace,' I shall be your loyal servant and beat down for you any recalcitrant lord showing himself anywhere in Ireland." The Queen said "peace," and Sir Henry Sidney, her

Viceroy, father of Sir Philip the Paladin, stood gossip for his eldest son, Henry O'Neill.

Now, during all this politic business, the State, it will be observed, was untrue to its trust, false to its own undertakings. Ferdoragh's eldest son having been slain, Tir-Owen, by patent, belonged to his next eldest, Hugh O'Neill, who all this time was being educated in England, in the household of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth. Possibly Hugh O'Neill could have told us the true story of Amy Robsart had he been so inclined.

When the Queen determined to drag down Shane O'Neill, she used the boy Hugh as an instrument. She sent him into Ireland, where, under Walter, Earl of Essex, and other commanders, he behaved stoutly and loyally, warring against his own kindred. Of course the lad's ultimate object in all this was to secure for himself and his faithful followers the dominions to which he was rightfully entitled under the patent. He had two younger brothers—Cormac, afterwards Baron of Dungannon, and Art, father of Owen Roe. He had many followers who trusted to him to make their fortune, and Hugh had a very great fortune indeed to dispend amongst faithful followers if only he could recover it. But there was the rub, for the Government was very weak and the forces opposed to him very strong. At this time Hugh married his first wife, an O'Neill lady of high rank and position.

When Shane was slain by the MacDonnells, the State, though it could procure an Act of the Irish Parliament abolishing the O'Neillship and making it high treason for anyone to assume the title, was quite unable to abolish the O'Neillship in fact. All Ulster stood on the election of a new captain, and the captain chosen was not Hugh, who was quite out of it by Irish law, but Turlough Lynagh O'Neill, a most brave, most amiable, but not very wise man.

Meantime the Queen, hard pressed upon by the Irish dynasts, forgetting or ignoring that old grant of Henry VIII. to Lame Con in the first place, remainder to Ferdoragh, remainder to the heirs of Ferdoragh in *tail male*, made a grant to Turlough Lynagh of all the lands previously conveyed to the Baron and his heirs. Thus troubles commenced between Turlough Lynagh and the State. Again the Queen, ignoring her grant to Turlough, made another of the same lands to young Hugh O'Neill, setting the young man over all Tir-Owen, that is to say, the modern counties of Londonderry, Tyrone, and Armagh. So there were in fact two O'Neills, both holding by

patent the same lands! There were a great many such conflicting patents in Ireland, or conflicting State arrangements with reference to land, from which in due course sprang rebellions, the State sowing such far and wide, and, in due season, reaping for a crop armed men and chieftains out on their keeping. The State being weak, unjust, and corrupt, lived from hand to mouth quite as much as modern constitutional administrations, and solved difficulties as they arose by the issue of Patents or Orders in Council without looking to the past or to the future. So they made Red Hugh the O'Donnell and Lord of all Tirconnall, while one of his tenants maintained in his strong-box a patent from the Queen securing all Tirconnall to himself.

If anyone supposes that Queen Elizabeth's great officers of State were very wise, virtuous, and statesmanlike persons, he is much mistaken.

So the Queen set up Hugh O'Neill there in the North as a rival and counter-weight to Turlough, Turlough's patent notwithstanding. From this time forward poor Turlough, oppressed by liquor and manifold injustices and perfidies of the kind which I have mentioned, year by year decayed, while young Hugh O'Neill was waxing stronger and stronger. Old Turlough, really a most noble and upright old chieftain, though given to liquor, now struck an agreement with this strong young Hugh O'Neill, and, under Perrott's supervision, rented to him a considerable portion of Tir-Owen. Hugh, as the weaker party, in order to strengthen himself, divorced his first wife, the purpose of that marriage having been fulfilled, and married the Lady Joan *(Siubhan)* O'Donnell, sister of Red Hugh and daughter of the reigning O'Donnell. Hugh was weak in the North, the Crown could give no help, and so he struck this league with the powerful house of O'Donnell, a league cemented by a marriage. The fact of the divorce is indisputable. He refers to it himself above his own hand in the letter in which he justifies his abduction of Mabel Bagenal, mentioning that afterwards his divorced wife had married another man and had borne him children. The Lady Joan O'Donnell could not have been more than sixteen at this time, he himself being more than forty.

By this alliance he became strong in the North and more than a match for Turlough Lynagh. Then he got into trouble with the State, partly because he had hanged a son of Shane, on his own responsibility, mainly because he was strong. At this step in his upward career his child-wife, the Lady Joan O'Donnell, died, and he took to himself a third wife out of the pale, Mabel Bagenal. When

the Countess Mabel died, he married the sister of one of his Northern lords, Catherine Magennis.

Finally Hugh grew to be virtually captain of the North, and so strong, that, though his loyalty was unimpeachable, the State determined to overthrow and destroy him. He on his side, driven thereto by inevitable necessity, waged war upon the State, and the State waged war upon him, but the State on this occasion had met its match. Year after year Hugh rolled back out of Ulster the strongest tide of invasion which the State could urge against him, and indeed, not to put too fine a point upon it, beat the State hip and thigh. He could not capture castles and walled towns, and the castles and walled towns adhering to the State neutralized his victories, but he could and did, with his victorious armies, tramp about Ireland, nowhere meeting an army which could defeat him in the open, though many armies tried. Twice he marched unopposed through Ireland into Munster. Had Ulster alone stood by Hugh O'Neill he could never have been beaten; and even though Ulster betrayed him, he did not lay down his arms until he had wrung from the State everything that he wanted when he commenced the war, viz., security for his life, and the free enjoyment of the estates conferred upon him indirectly by Henry VIII. and afterwards directly by Elizabeth.

In his letters to the Privy Council, he always declared that he went into rebellion merely to save his life and his lands; and though he afterwards put forward other aims and objects, savouring of religion, and savouring of patriotism, and savouring of Spain, he most certainly never commenced the war for any other objects than those which I have specified, and which at the time in many letters he set out. He had spies even in the Queen's bedchamber, and knew everything that was intended against him. If Ireland, speaking generally, had not been against him, he would, as Hugh the First, have founded a Catholic Monarchy or have established himself here, himself and his descendants as hereditary lieutenants of the Crown, reviving in the house of O'Neill the powers once enjoyed by the house of Kildare. But Ireland was against him, and though he did all that valour and wisdom could do, he had to end as he began. Why Ireland was against him is a very deep question, about which volumes might be written.

Hugh O'Neill was of medium stature, but athletic and powerfully built, with black eyes and a swarthy complexion. In speech he was "plain and blunt," in aspect grave, inclined to sombre, but in social

intercourse could unbend and be very agreeable. Sir John Harrington, the witty author of *Nugæ Antiquæ*, no mean judge, celebrates his conversational powers. His letters published in the State Papers prove a literary faculty superior to that of any public man of his time in Ireland. They are not unfrequently very vivid and pictorial. They are not so much ingenious as ingenuous, for it is a fact that this man, whom his enemies represented as so deep and crafty, was not more, but far less, tainted with the prevailing duplicity of the age than his contemporaries. He was, in fact, more plain-dealing than any of them, and I may add that it is an enemy, Sir John Davies, who describes him as "plain and blunt of speech."

He always said and wrote that he had rebelled against Queen Elizabeth only to save his life and lands from those who had conspired to destroy the one and confiscate the other, and there is no ground whatever for supposing that when he did so he was not telling the plain truth.

Notes on Stone Axes.

By W. J. Knowles, M.R.I.A.

County Antrim is rich in stone axes. We find many of them rough and only blocked into shape by hammering, while others, and these the more numerous, are ground and finely polished. They are known as thunderbolts among country people, and many believe that they fell from the clouds during thunderstorms. A man once assured me that one of these implements struck his shovel while he was working! No doubt it did, as his shovel may have come suddenly against it and turned it up, but he had no belief that the occurrence could be explained in that way; his firm impression was that the stone axe dropped from the sky. They are found pretty generally over the country, but more abundantly in land which is being brought under cultivation for the first time. Many are found in peat bogs, generally at the clay or below the large fir roots which are so plentiful in peat bogs. An estimate of the numbers which have been found in the county may be formed when I say that in my own collection, which is only one of many, there are nearly a thousand of the rough, unground kind, obtained from various sites—Rathlin Island; Clough, near Ballymena; and Glen Ballyemon, near Cushendall. Of the

polished kind I have three or four times that number. Many notable specimens are left undescribed for want of time and opportunity, but they should be recorded in a publication like the *Ulster Journal*, which is devoted to the archæology of Ulster.

About eight or ten years ago I got a fine specimen of the rough, or unground, kind from one of those men of the pedlar class, who, while travelling over the country to sell their wares, at same time pick up any curious or antique object which may be found by the farmer or labourer in the course of agriculture. He said it was found near Armoy. It is 13 inches in length and 4 inches in breadth at the broadest part, and weighs 5 lb. 14 oz. It is not an unworthy companion to the large axe belonging to the Ballyemon find which I exhibited in Belfast at the meeting of the British Association in September last. The Armoy specimen is more weathered on one side than the other, as if it had lain a long time exposed to sun and weather. In this respect, as well as in material, it is very like the axes which were found by my wife and myself on the top of Tievebulliagh. Indeed it is not improbable that it may have come from that site, which is only eight or ten miles distant from Armoy. If not from that place, I believe from its appearance that it came from some similar site in the high lands around Armoy. If the latter suggestion should be correct, a find like those of Glen Ballyemon and Tievebulliagh probably awaits some of our Antrim explorers. Though truncated at the butt, the specimen under consideration does not seem to have been broken, as the surface across the end, from its smooth and weathered appearance, is undoubtedly the original one. The axe is shown slightly under quarter linear size in fig. 1.

FIG. 1.

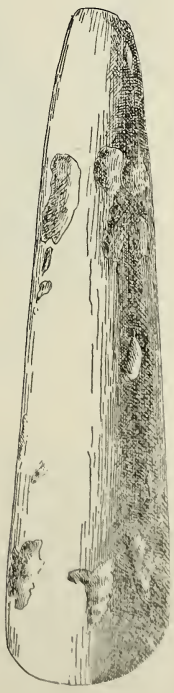


FIG. 2.

An axe of the polished kind was found a few years ago in the townland of Articruniaght, about

three miles from Coleraine, on the Ballycastle road, having been turned up while ploughing. It is one of the last things I got from the late John Dillon. I was in Coleraine on business, and called to see him, and he showed me the axe, which had been left with him to see what he would give for it. I was anxious to bring it away with me, and to leave sufficient money in his hands to pay for it; but he said if he allowed me to take it, ten times the value would not please the owner; so he promised to buy it for me if he could. I was not again in Coleraine for some months, and when I called he asked me what had kept me, as he had the big axe for me. He let me have it at the price he had paid for it, though I would gladly have given him a profit. He assured me he never charged any collector a profit. He bought from the farmers

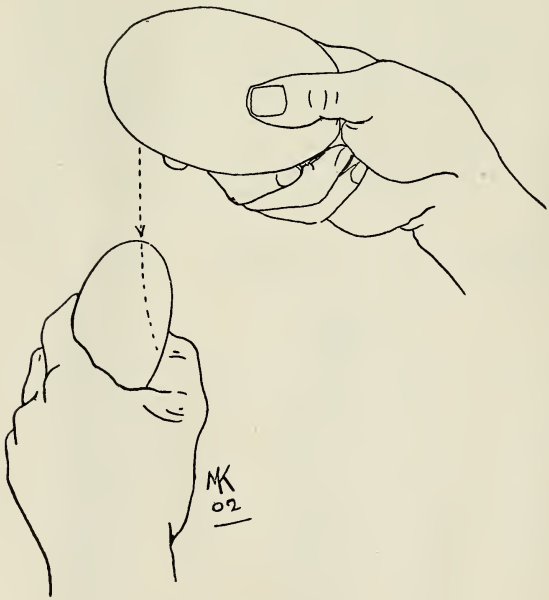


FIG. 3.

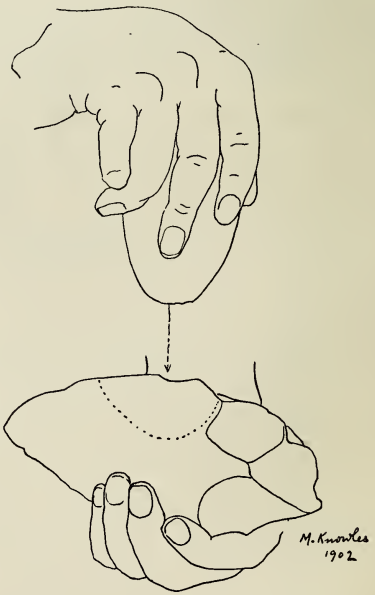


FIG. 4.

and ragmen for the pleasure it gave him, and let collectors have the articles at his own money. This fine specimen is within a small fraction of 15 inches in length, and is 3¾ inches broad. It was originally a rough axe like that previously described, but was afterwards ground all over and polished. There are a few spots on the surface which are unpolished. These were caused by flakes which dipped deep at the time the axe was being chipped into shape. While marks like these do not detract from the strength and effectiveness of

axes, yet we find many examples which have been ground till not a trace of a flake appears. It weighs 4¾ lb., and is shown slightly under quarter linear size in fig. 2. A specimen very similar in shape, finish, and in every other respect, only about two inches shorter, was obtained from a farmer at Raloo, near Ballycarry, a few years ago. The farmer kept it twenty years in his house before he was tempted to sell it.

The smooth polished axes were all originally in the rough blocked-out state, and we find them in all stages, from the very slightly ground up to those in which no trace of chipping appears. The axes were chipped into shape by hammers of stone held in the hand. Waterworn boulders of quartzite, mostly of oval shape, are frequently found in sites where stone implements were manufactured, their bruised ends showing plainly that they had been used in striking stones so as to knock off flakes. Other rocks have been used for hammers; and in Glen Ballyemon pieces of the rock of which the axes were made were so used. These, from repeated hammering, are frequently in the form of rounded balls. Some American authors in their figures show the hand holding the hammer-stone in such a way that it must have struck with its side (see fig. 3, which is a copy of fig. 10, page 59, of the fifteenth *Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology*); but Irish hammer-stones show their bruised or worn parts on the ends, and must have been held in the hand in the way shown in fig. 4, so that the implements might strike directly downward with their ends.

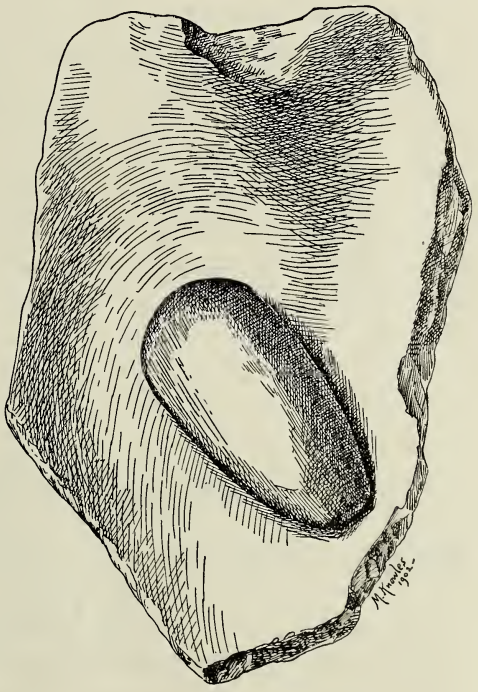


FIG. 5.

The grinding must have been done on pieces of sandstone, as many pieces hollowed and grooved have been found in close connection with nearly-finished axes. I have an axe which was found at

the bottom of a peat bog in Ballyclosh several years ago, with the piece of sandstone on which it must have been ground lying over it. I have a fine series of these grinding-stones, and I show one, 13 inches in length by 8 inches in breadth, hollowed on both sides, quarter size, in fig. 5, with an axe lying on top of it. Other stones of the nature of whetstones, and frequently made out of broken stone axes, were, I believe, employed in giving the finish to those axes which are polished.

Besides the term thunderbolt, which is pretty universal, they are also called battle-axes. Those who speak of them in this way no doubt regard them as having been employed in fighting; but if they were so used, I suspect it was only in the same way as a spade or other agricultural tool would be employed in a fight or hasty squabble. I believe their principal use was as tools, as we find all kinds from the small chisel up to the large axe that would be employed in felling a tree or splitting a log. The large sizes are the least numerous. In my own collection specimens from 12 to 18 inches in length would not amount to more than a score; those from 8 to 12 inches are more numerous; but the large majority are from 3 or 4 inches up to about 7 inches, and many of the chisels are as small as an inch in length.

TO RULE THE NORTH:

Being a History of the Fort of Blackwater in Ulster,

SOMETIME CALLED PORTMORE.

By John J. Marshall.

(Continued from vol. viii, page 171.)

AFTER the death of Lord Burgh, who combined both the Lord-Deputyship and the chief command of the army, Ormonde was appointed commander-in-chief, and as he had always been on friendly terms with O'Neill, negotiations were opened afresh. The Government were willing to make large concessions, provided the rebel's submission was made in such form as would save their dignity.

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Ormonde met Tyrone at Dundalk, and amongst the "heads of matters" which he was to urge upon O'Neill was one, "that he do contribute his help to the building up of the fort and bridge of the Blackwater, in the state as it was when he overthrew it, and till he build it up again, that Her Majesty's garrison may be continued in it without any danger, and that the country do bring in victuals and other necessaries for the garrison." [1] 1597. 5 December.

In concluding the terms of peace, Tyrone consented to the victualling of the Blackwater fort, and promised to give 40 beeves of his own towards it. The next item was firewood, which Ormonde perceived they greatly wanted, and the granting of this concession is thus graphically described by one of the negotiators: "Then they moved him for firewood for the fort of Blackwater. This at first he utterly denied [refused], but at length, yet with some difficulty, he yielded, and promised to assign them wood on this side of the Blackwater, within a mile of the fort, but would in no wise consent that they should cut a stick within his passes there." Tyrone's refusal to allow them to cut timber, except upon the Armagh side of the river, arose from a military and strategic reason. He did not wish them to use this concession to cut passages through the woods on his side of the river in times of peace, by which English armies might avail themselves, in case of hostilities again breaking out, to penetrate into his fastnesses. On the Armagh side of the river, where the first fort stood, a considerable clearing had been made, and they could not do much damage by felling trees there. O'Neill, who was only negotiating in order to gain time, refused to place any hostages in Ormonde's hands for the carrying out of the articles. 1597. 22 December.

Upon the conclusion of this Agreement, Ormonde at once wrote to Captain Williams to let him know his greatest wants and the state of his men, so that the favourable opportunity for revictualling the fort might not be allowed to slip, and the following is the report made by Captain Thomas Williams and Captain Edmund Lister to the Lord-Lieutenant General:

"The strength of men is seven score and some few upwards. The walls on either side the ports are fallen down, but by the great labour of the soldiers are in daily repair. This causes a stronger nightly watch, and the soldiers require some consideration because of their extraordinary travel and pains. They have two 'robbenents' mounted on carriages, serviceable, with two bases. There are twelve 1597. 25 December.

[1] Cal. S.P.I.

barrels of powder, with a proportionate rate of lead, but some match is wanting. They have about a month's victuals in beef and biscuit, as from this date. Tyrone according to promise sent in 30 beeves, but of these only seventeen were accepted, 'the rest being carrion.' Salt much wanted. There is a great want of malt liquor to relieve the men, 'after so long drinking of the Blackwater river. Likewise for clothing, brogues, stockings, and linen, they are altogether unfurnished, being forced to lie on bare earth, uncovered, which hath perished many of them.' The rest of the fort will fall down in many parts thereof, unless it be speedily looked unto, and helped by sending down some spades, shovels, pickaxes, and a further proportion of munition. Seeing that in this time of treaty there is a freer passage between the garrison and the [people of the] country, who for ready money would come in with their commodities, some proportion of money might be assigned for that purpose."[1]

1597. 4 January. The new Lord-General of the Queen's forces lost no time in acting upon the report, and writes to Burghley, under date of 4 January, stating that "the raising of the army to victual the same would cost Her Highness £8,000; that their state was such that they were not able to carry arms, a number of their captains and leaders being young men void of experience and discipline. Precisely the same complaint as Burgh had made when on his first journey to the Blackwater. He also complains of the excessive cost of victualling the fort; and this complaint also had already been made by Sir Thomas Norris, who blames Lord Burgh for vacating Armagh, whence Blackwater could have been easily succoured at any time. He caused some pickaxes, shovels, and spades to be shipped in the barque of victuals bound for Newry, from where Sir Henry Bagenall was to have them sent on to the fort as soon as landed. There was also sent some powder, lead, and match; and the provision thus forwarded, with what they had at the fort, was calculated to serve for nine weeks. The Marshall (Bagenall) was to be allowed five shillings sterling for the hire of every garron, as had been previously allowed by Lord Burgh.

1597. 20 January. Bagenall reported that the full proportion of victuals for the Blackwater fort was already sent thither.[1]

It is a strong evidence of how largely England's conquest of Ireland was accomplished by Irishmen themselves, that Sir Henry Brouncker, speaking from his own knowledge, says: "At the victualling of the fort of Blackwater, of 1,700 soldiers there was not 300 English";

[1] Cal. S.P.I.

and Bingham for years ruled Connaught with a rod of iron by means of his Irish soldiers.

The victualling party reported to Ormonde that the fort was fallen in several places, and the ground where it was placed such that "what they repaired in the day, twice as much falleth the next day." Under these circumstances it was thought that if Tyrone chose to break off negotiations it was in danger of being lost, and to obviate this 100 pioneers were sent to it as soon as possible.[1]

From the time of O'Neill's submission until the passing of his pardon under the great seal of Ireland, the fort appears to have remained unmolested. Amongst the conditions upon which he received this pardon was— 1598. 11 April.

"6. That he build up again at his own charge the fort and bridge of Blackwater, and furnish the soldiers with victuals as he formerly did."[2]

From the report made to Ormonde in the previous December, it would seem to have been very much in need of rebuilding, but Tyrone had other views regarding Blackwater fort, and accordingly wrote to Ormonde "that the Governor of Blackwater had knowledge of no longer truce than the 4th of May. It rested with Ormonde to prolong the same for six weeks and ten days from Easter day last. Prays to know his Lordship's resolution seven days before the 4th of May."[1] 1598. 19 April.

Writing a few days later from Strabane, O'Neill complains of "the hard dealing of the Blackwater garrison in taking from him some few cows in place of the beeves that were 'unpaid' of the number he promised long since." This was the balance of beeves, thirteen of which Williams, although starving, had rejected in the previous December as being "only carrion." 1598. 28 April.

The Government agreed to the extension of the truce, and instructed the garrison accordingly. The time expiring on 7 June, O'Neill allowed no days of grace; and the Lords-Justices report on 10 June that Tyrone was again attacking Blackwater. No doubt Captain Williams had utilized the time of truce, and the 100 pioneers sent, to strengthen and repair the fort to the utmost that the resources at his disposal admitted; but, according to Moryson, it was only a deep trench or wall of earth to lodge some 100 soldiers. The Irish authorities, however, are probably correct when they represent it as being much stronger, and having flanking towers at the corners, loopholed for musketry. 1598. 10 & 17 June.

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Fynes Moryson.

1598. 17 June. It had been the Government's intention to plant a garrison at Derry this summer, and O'Neill, not at all relishing the idea of being hemmed in by garrisons, by way of creating a diversion, prepared to send a force into Leinster to assist his allies there, while another body of his followers raided the Brenny, took some islands in that district, and afterwards attacked the castle of Cavan, but were unable to take it. Another portion of his forces continued the blockade of the Blackwater, and O'Neill swore by his "bloody hand" that his force should not depart till he had carried the piece.[1]

1598. 18 June. The precarious position of the fort may be gathered from a letter of Ormonde to Cecil, in which he says: "I protest to God, the state of the scurvy fort of Blackwater, which cannot be long held, doth more touch my heart than all the spoils that were ever made by traitors upon my own lands. This fort was always falling, and never victualled but once (by myself) without an army, to Her Majesty's exceeding charges."[1]

O'Neill, learning that the intended post at the mouth of the Foyle would not be planted that year, was free to concentrate his energies upon the capture of the obnoxious fort. Meanwhile famine was pressing upon the garrison, which consisted of four companies of foot, their store of provisions being only calculated to last till the end of June; and the Government, to avoid the expense, which they could ill spare, of equipping an army for the relief of the fort, would gladly have abandoned the useless outpost could they have found any means to do so without loss of prestige. However this was not to be, and Captain Williams, left for the time to hold out as best he could, "by some stratagem issued out from the fort, and besides killing two or three of Tyrone's principal men," captured seventeen or eighteen of the Earl's mares, by means of which provision Captain Williams informed one of Fenton's spies they could hold out that month (July).

1598. 10 July. The welcome capture of horses would have taken place about the 10 July, and Williams wished to be informed by the Government within twenty days whether he was to be relieved, or should make his composition with the Earl.[1]

Probably the Government managed to give Williams notice that they were getting ready a relief force, or in the absence of instructions he held on, "he and his warders having eaten the few horses they had, lived upon herbs growing in ditches and walls, suffering all extremities."[2]

[1] Cal. S.P.I. [2] Fynes Moryson.

This state of affairs could not long continue, as the Government at the beginning of the month (7 July) were "daily expecting to hear that it had been forced by the rebels, or that the garrison had to surrender on terms, and so 'quit the piece.'"[1] No doubt this would have been the very best thing that could have happened, in view of what afterwards took place, as an outlying post in the enemy's country, without support, could be of no effectual service. However, it was a point of honour with the Government to relieve the garrison, and while this was being done Captain Williams might be depended on to hold the fort to the last extremity.

If Shane the Proud had been a nightmare and a terror to the English commanders and governors of a previous generation, Hugh O'Neill was a more difficult problem still. Shane had but the Celtic mode of warfare and his impetuous courage, backed by his own clansmen, but here was this "O'Neill," who had fought in the ranks of England's war, to whom she had taught her discipline, now levelling against her breast the weapons that she had placed in his hands, in order to "divide that she might conquer." Then, as if this were not enough, he must needs also use the lessons that her statesmen had given him in order to render him a fitting tool for their purpose, by uniting all Ulster in a common cause, instead of allowing clan to be pitted against clan by the Government, to their mutual destruction. Small wonder then that under this new development of native tactics Elizabethan Ireland was the grave of so many political and military reputations, and that while the gallant Williams still held the fort, and across his ramparts looked in vain to see the banner of St. George cresting the hills of Armagh, there was perturbation in the council and the field. Ormonde, commander-in-chief though he was, had no stomach for crossing swords with the redoubted chieftain of Tyrone, and was altogether deaf to the suggestions of the Council that he was the fittest person to take the command. He very conveniently remembered that Leinster required his especial care, and a trumpery outbreak of the Kavanaghs served as an excuse for declining to the prudent head of the house of Butler. His Royal mistress, when she heard of the defeat of her army and the loss of Blackwater fort, wrote a letter to him sufficiently energetic to express even her feelings regarding his conduct.

Meanwhile Tyrone, who was as efficiently served by his spies as the Government, was aware of the force being mustered against him,

[1] Cal. S.P.I.

and in addition to maintaining a strict blockade around the doomed fortress, made great plashes between Armagh and the Blackwater, sunk holes in all the fords, and threw up a trench where he intended to make his principal stand. The Earl was able at this time to put in the field as strong an army as any that England could send against him, and while waiting for the advance of the relief force under Marshal Bagenall, permitted O'Donnell, MacWilliam, Maguire, and James MacSorley (MacDonnell) to return home, but to be ready to come whenever he would send for them.

The month of July had passed, and August was passing as well, but still no help reached the leaguered stronghold, yet Williams and his men held grimly on, vainly watching for the longed-for aid, when early on Monday, 14 August, the welcome sound of cannon announced that a battle was being fought by the army at last advancing to their relief. The slackening of the encircling ring of besiegers, the hurrying of men to the front, told to their experienced eyes the story plainly enough, as they stood in that ruined earthwork above the Blackwater, and gazed across the hills of Armagh, eagerly trying to make out the fortune of the fight. The garrison was far too faint with hunger and feeble from sickness to sally forth and attack O'Neill in the rear, thus creating a diversion in favour of their deliverers; they could only remain at their post, and wait and hope.

1598.
14 August.

The trained fighting men of Ulster, under two such leaders as Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell, were entirely different opponents from the loose array of kerne and gallowglasses with which an English army was usually confronted by a rebellious chief, and the relieving army was disastrously defeated, their leader slain, and their artillery and munitions of war a prey of the enemy. Amongst the arrangements made by the authorities with O'Neill for allowing the return to the pale of the remains of the defeated army, still lying at Armagh, was one stipulating for the surrender of the Blackwater fort, leaving behind all arms, drums, colours, stores, and munitions of war, the captains only retaining their rapiers and hackneys, the Constable alone being allowed to take his personal belongings with him. Williams, despite the untoward issue of the battle, had refused to surrender the fort, which he held for two days after the battle, until informed of the arrangement made with the Earl of Tyrone, when in accordance with its terms he yielded up the stronghold, and with his men joined the English army lying at Armagh.[1]

[1] Cal. S.P.I. Fynes Moryson, *Annala* quoted in *State of Ireland, anno 1598.*

Bagenal, who lost his life in this engagement, was very eager to command the relieving force, and had strongly opposed all suggestions of surrendering the fort to Hugh O'Neill. When the Council wrote to Williams advising him to make the best composition that he could with Tyrone, and sent the communications to Bagenal to be conveyed by his means to their destination, "the Marshal stayed the letters in his own hands and did not send them to the fort, but brought them back affirming how dishonourable it would be to hold that course." He also stated that he knew by good intelligence that the fort was yet in case to hold out, and "that he had thrust some beeves into it by stratagem, which in truth was not performed."[1]

(To be continued.)

On a Small Collection of Presbyterian Communion Tokens.

By the Rev. Geo. R. Buick, ll.d., and David Buick, ll.d.

The practice of using communion tokens began shortly after the Reformation of Religion in the sixteenth century. It was adopted in the interests of order and purity. Prior to the observance of the Lord's Supper, the rulers of a congregation considered the claims of all over whom they had authority who were likely to attend the ordinance; and then, on a day appointed for the purpose, distributed tokens of admission to those whom they deemed worthy. Only the persons so qualified were allowed to take part in the rite itself.

The French Protestant Church was the first to adopt this practice. From it the use of communion tokens passed to the Church of Scotland, there being at that time a close connection between these two Churches. The Presbyterians from Scotland, who settled here in the north of Ireland, naturally followed in this, as in other respects, the custom of the Mother Church.

The practice thus introduced has held its own down to the present day. It has, however, of late become common to substitute for the metal token a suitable-sized piece of cardboard, on which the communicant can write his or her name and address. This enables

[1] Lords-Justices and Council to Privy Council, 16 August and 16 September, 1598.

the congregational officers to register the names of those in attendance with ease and correctness, and besides has other advantages which just now we need not particularize.

Our object in this paper is to give a short account of a number of these old metal tokens, fast disappearing from use, which have come into our possession.

We do not propose to describe all the specimens which we have or know of, but only such as belong to our own immediate district, or are in themselves unusually interesting and instructive.

We take those we have marked out for notice alphabetically; and we wish it to be understood from the outset that when nothing is said about the material of which an individual token is composed, it is to be assumed that it is a leaden one, and also that in all cases in which there is no reference to the reverse of the token, it is plain.

Ahoghill (First), Co. Antrim.

Two tokens: one probably a hundred years old at least, the other comparatively modern.

The earlier of the two is small, oblong, and bears on the obverse the letters A-L: the first and last letters of Ahoghill. Fig. 1.

FIG. 1.

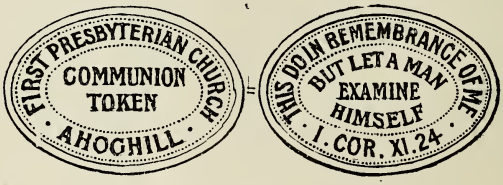


FIG. 2.

The second specimen is oval, and of the size so general amongst those in actual use. It is of hard pewter, and has on its obverse the words "Communion Token," the latter underneath the former, and both across the centre of the face. Round the border run the words (above) "First Presbyterian Church" and (below) "Ahoghill." The reverse has at centre "But let a man examine himself," and round the border "This do in remembrance of Me. 1 Cor. xi. 24." Fig. 2.

Ahoghill (Second).

Four tokens: three of which are old and quaint. Figs. 3, 4, and 5.

When, in the year 1894, the meeting-house was undergoing renovation, a small hoard of these primitive-looking tokens was found in an old baptismal bowl under the pulpit.

They are small, oblong, slightly rounded at the corners, and have upon the obverse the letters A T or T-A. When the T precedes the A there is a hyphen between; when the A comes first there is none. A indicates Ahoghill in both instances, and it is possible that the T associated with it simply stands for token. But as the congregation—originally a Secession one, and founded somewhere about 1799—was worked for a time in connection with the

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

Secession congregation at Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, we are inclined to the opinion that the initials are those of Ahoghill and Templepatrick in the one instance, and of Templepatrick and Ahoghill in the other.

The third variety seems to confirm this conclusion. It is a longish oblong, rounded to a point at each end, and bearing the letters T T incussed upon it. Fig. 5. One T would have sufficed if the object had been simply to indicate "Token." We conclude, therefore, that this is the earliest token of the Templepatrick Secession Congregation after it had ceased to be worked along with Ahoghill.

The fourth token is a handsome octagonal one, of hard pewter or other alloy, struck in 1851. The obverse has at centre the letters F.B., the initials of our father, the Rev. Frederick Buick, senior minister of the congregation, who was ordained to the oversight of it in the year 1835. Fig. 6.

FIG. 6.

It is not at all likely that any other tokens, additional to those just described, were ever in use in Second Ahoghill.

Ballycarry, Co. Antrim.

One token: modern, oval in shape, having the date 1828 at the centre of its obverse, and round the border the words "Presbyterian Church" (above) and "Ballycarry" (below). The reverse is the usual one with tokens of this type. It is the same as that of the First Ahoghill present-day token. Fig. 2.

This Ballycarry token was probably struck during the ministry of the Rev. William Glendy, who in 1829, along with a majority of the congregation, seceded from the Synod of Ulster and joined the

Remonstrant Synod. These seceders retained the congregational property, but they did not take the communion tokens with them.

Ballykelly, Co. Derry.

One token: oval, with scalloped edge and decorated border. On obverse the letters Bʏ Kʏ ; on reverse the letter T. Fig. 7.

FIG. 7.

This token was not stamped out with a die, but cast in a mould. It is above the average run of old tokens, both in make and design.

Through the kindness of the Rev. W. C. Robinson, M.A., of Ballykelly, we have had an opportunity of examining the mould by means of which this token was cast. It is of brass and steel, and is nine inches long when shut for use. The two valves are attached by means of a hinge. It has seven separate matrices into which the lead was run, so that this number of tokens could be cast at one operation.

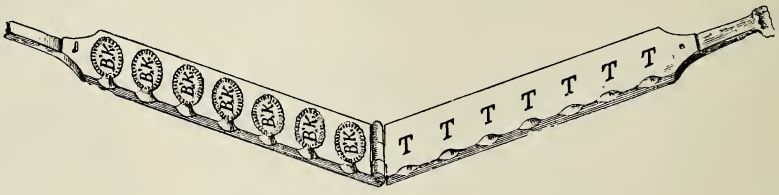


FIG. 8.

One of the valves has the letters and ornamentation for the obverse stamped upon it, evidently by means of a punch. Then a plate of steel, cut with seven openings, to fit the seven ovals so stamped, has been laid upon the face of the valve, to save the trouble of engraving the brass to a sufficient depth to give the token the requisite thickness, and this plate has been carefully secured in its place by rivets. The other valve has a row of seven T's punched upon it in such a way as to form, when the mould is shut, the reverse of each individual token.

Fig. 8 will enable the reader to understand the character of the mould without further description.

Ballymena (First), Co. Antrim.

Three varieties: one seemingly very old, the other two more modern.

The earliest one is small, oblong, with a large B on the obverse, filling all the available space. The B (which, of course, stands for Ballymena) is in the direction of the longer axis of the oblong. Fig. 9.

FIG. 9.

The next variety is somewhat larger, and has "Ballymena" on the face of it, the letters arranged in arc form. Fig. 10.

The third, and last, is the ordinary oval, same as the First Ahoghill token of recent years, but with "Ballymena" on the obverse instead of "Ahoghill."

FIG. 10.

Ballymena (Second).

(Known now as "The High Kirk.")

One token: similar in shape and size to the later token belonging to First Ballymena, but with the figure 2 below the arch formed by the word Ballymena. Fig. 11. As this congregation was not styled Second Ballymena until after the union of the Secession Synod (to which it belonged) with the Synod of Ulster, this token cannot be of an earlier date than 1840.

FIG. 11.

Ballymena (Third).

We have secured four different tokens belonging to this congregation: three of these, however, are really but one variety; they differ only on the reverse, the letters of which simply mark, in each case, the particular table for which the token was available.

This token is comparatively large, and has the letters and figuring upon it incised. On obverse at top B 2, and beneath 1830. Reverse, N°, with 1, 2, or 3 below. See fig. 12.

The figure 2 along with the B on the obverse indicates that originally this congregation was known as Second Ballymena. At the union of the Synods, however, it was agreed that the Secession congregation worshipping in High Street, and already referred to, should be styled the Second Congregation, and the then Wellington Street congregation—afterwards "West Church"—should be designated Third Ballymena. Accordingly the most recent token of this congregation,

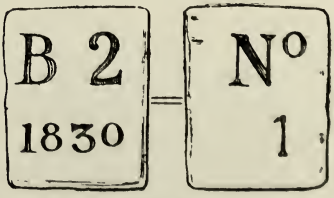


FIG. 12.

which is the ordinary oval one, has on its obverse the words "Third Presbyterian Church, Ballymena."

Broughshane (First), Co. Antrim.

Two varieties: the first is small and oblong. On obverse the letters B.D, which stand for Braid, the original name of the congregation. Fig. 13. Several of these tokens were recently found along with a hoard of others belonging to the Cullybackey congregation. They have also been met with among the older tokens of other neighbouring congregations. Some have looked upon them as the tokens of the Secession congregation which formerly worshipped in a meeting-house, now in ruins, midway between Broughshane and Buckna. We are inclined to regard this supposition as incorrect. Wherever they have been met with outside Broughshane itself, it has always been in connection with congregations which originally belonged to the Synod of Ulster.

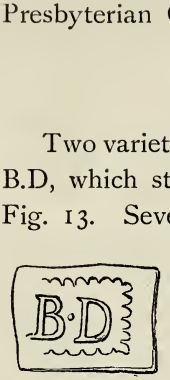


FIG. 13.

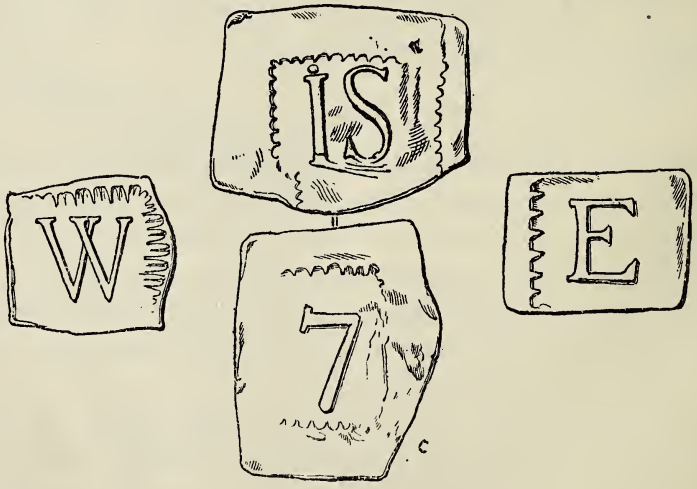


FIG. 14.

The second variety is large, irregular, and rudely made. It contains three distinct and separate groups: what may be called the I S group, the W group, and the E group, these letters respectively occupying the obverse. See fig. 14.

I S stand for aisle (i.e., the table occupying the main portion of the meeting-house); W denotes the west side, or the table to westward of the

officiating clergyman (in this instance the one to his left hand); whilst E indicates the east side, or the table to the east of the meeting-house.

On the reverse of these tokens are the numbers 1 to 8 respectively —one number to each token—from which it is clear that ordinarily there were on a Communion Sabbath as many as eight different tables, separately addressed and served. See fig. 14, *c*.

The meaning, then, of these several letters and figures is obvious. Supposing an intending communicant received a token having I S on its obverse, and the figure 6 on the reverse, he understood at once that he was expected to take his place at the table in the aisle, and not to do so until five tables had been already served. In this way confusion and overcrowding were completely avoided.

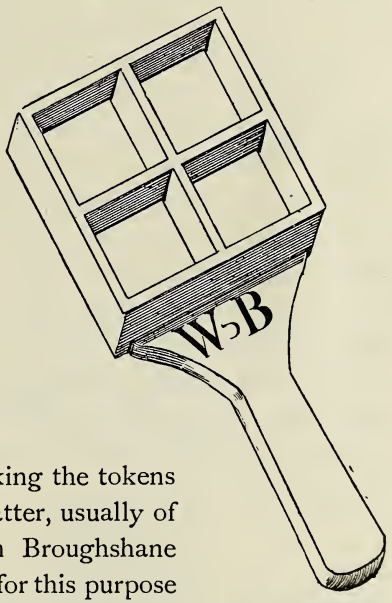


FIG. 15.

The tokens themselves were collected at the tables by the elders appointed beforehand for the purpose. This was done before the elements were administered. In most other congregations of which we have any knowledge, the collection was made either by the elder taking the tokens in his hand, or passing round a platter, usually of pewter, for their reception. But in Broughshane there were formerly collecting-boxes for this purpose alone. We have two of these—they are of wood, neatly made. Each has a short handle, and the box or receptacle itself is divided into four separate compartments. The style of the whole can be best understood from the accompanying illustration. Fig. 15.

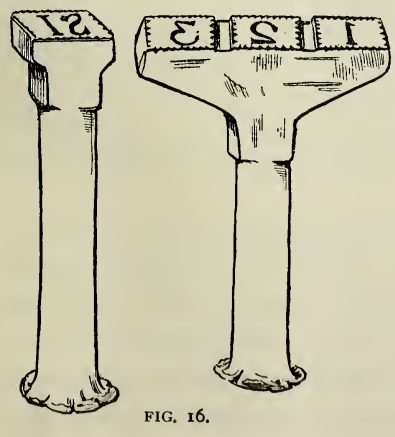


FIG. 16.

We have also four of the stamps formerly used in the preparation of these tokens. They are of iron, and show signs of having been often employed. The mode adopted seems to have been this: a sheet of lead was cut up into pieces the

size wanted, then each piece was put between the two stamps, the impress of which it was intended to bear, and whilst the lower stamp rested on an anvil or stone, the end of the upper one was struck a sharp blow with a hammer. In this way the letters and figures on both obverse and reverse of the token were left in sharp relief, which would not have been the case had one face been first stamped, and the other afterwards by a separate operation. Fig. 16.

Connor, Co. Antrim.

FIG. 17.

Three varieties. Those of the first set, or group, are very rude, comparatively large, and almost square. They have the numbers 1 to 8 on the obverse, indicating, no doubt, the numbers of the several tables. This is, we believe, the oldest variety belonging to the congregation. See fig. 17.

The next group, or set, has been struck on older tokens, and exhibits the name of the congregation, "Connor," partially obliterated, but more or less observable on both sides. Fig. 18.

FIG. 18.

The third group, and latest of all, gives on obverse the name of the congregation in two lines, CON—NOR, and the number of the table and its precise situation on the reverse. The situation of the table is denoted by the letters F R T (front), R G T (right), and L F T (left). Front meant the table facing the officiating minister; right, the table to his right hand; and left, that to his left. Fig. 19.

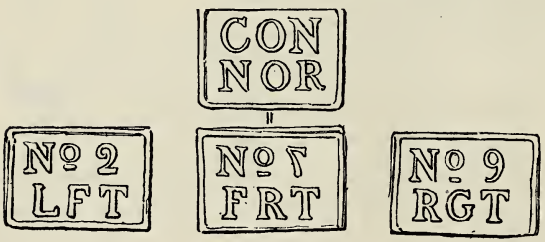


FIG. 19.

The tokens thus marked probably date from 1815, when the meeting-house was rebuilt, and provision made for almost 1,000 communicants.

David Redmond, Antrim, has two of the moulds in which the Connor tokens were formerly cast. He has very kindly sent them to us for description in this paper. Both are after the form of an ordinary pair of moderately-sized nippers or pincers. The smaller of the two has, on each inner face, an oblong depression the size of the token, and half as deep as the token was designed to be thick. Across both is

engraven the word "Connor" in one line. The tokens produced from this mould are the ones referred to above as the second variety or group. But, after having been in use for a considerable time, it would seem they were all re-stamped with figures. No doubt this was done that the communicants might know precisely the particular table at which they were expected to communicate. In all likelihood the Session found by experience that confusion and misunderstandings arose from the use of tokens without numbers on them.

The larger mould is of a still better and stronger make. It was used to produce the third group of tokens just described. On one face is engraved the word CON—NOR in two lines; on the other, No. 6, L F T, also in two lines. This latter inscription is not engraved on the brass of the mould itself, but on a piece of brass a little larger than the intended token, which is inserted in a receptacle cut to receive it with great exactness. This in turn is fastened in its place by means of a screw attached to it, which goes through the valve, and is secured by a nut. This arrangement allows the little plate to be removed, if desired, and a similar one, bearing on it a different number and the letters R G T, or F R T, to be inserted. In this way the complete set, or group, of tokens, as already described, could be cast. Of the little interchangeable parts themselves there must have been not less than thirty—ten to suit the tokens which have F R T upon them, and ten each for those with the other letters. We have tokens with Nos. 1 to 9 upon them, but David Redmond assures us there are others bearing No. 10.

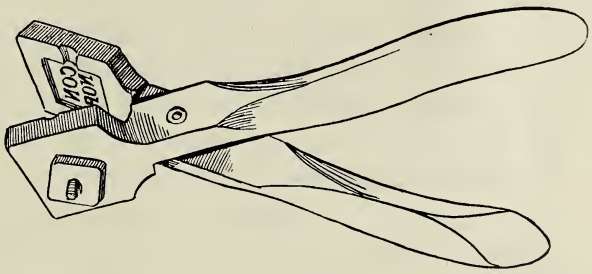


FIG. 20.

Fig. 20 shows the mould itself.

Cullybackey, Co. Antrim.

Five varieties. The first variety is a small oblong token, neat, and well turned out. It has a plain elevated border all round on the obverse, and within, the letters C B. Fig. 21. Supposed date 1730.

The second variety is a shade larger than the preceding one, is well made of stout lead, and has on obverse a raised border (narrow) all

round it, which is neatly notched on its inner edge, and within this border the letters C B. Fig. 22. Tokens of this type are, as a rule, less worn than those of the first type, so we conclude that they should stand in the order in which we have placed them, so far as age is concerned. Date probably about 1760.

The third variety has the letter C on the obverse, filling the whole available space. The token itself is square, and has the C incised.

FIG. 21.

FIG. 22.

FIG. 23.

FIG. 24.

Fig. 23. This seems to have been one of the earliest tokens of the congregation. It is certainly much the rarest. In all probability its date is 1780.

The fourth variety is larger than any already described. It is square, and has on obverse a double border—the inner one plain, the outer one notched—and inside the letters C B. This token we take to be the one in use during the ministry of the Rev. William Cuthbertson, who was ordained here in 1818. Fig. 24.

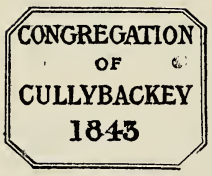


FIG. 25.

The remaining variety was struck in 1843, during the ministry of the Rev. Hugh Hamilton. It is a large oblong, of hard white metal, the corners of which are cut away. Fig. 25 shows obverse.

Before dismissing the subject of the Cullybackey tokens, we think it right to record the finding of a peculiar example which we met with in a hoard of tokens, belonging to the congregation, discovered under the floor of the old meeting-house when it was pulled down in 1879, to make way for the handsome new one which now occupies the same site, and which was built by the Misses Cuningham, of Ardvernis, as a memorial of their mother. This particular token has on its obverse the letters BYClid (seemingly Ballyclid). We know of no such place. Fig. 26.

FIG. 26.

FIG. 27.

CULLYBACKEY (UNITED FREE).

One token: small, square, thin, with an O incised. This represents "Original Secession." Fig. 27.

Cullybackey (Reformed Presbyterian).

One variety: small, oblong, rather thick for its size. It has on obverse the letters N T A; on reverse R P These last stand for Reformed Presbytery, or Presbyterian. Fig. 28.

FIG. 28.

Eglish, Co. Tyrone.

FIG. 29.

One token: very small, oblong, with high toothed border, within which are the letters E:C—Eglish Congregation—the whole remarkably well executed. Fig. 29.

We are indebted to the editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for calling our attention to this beautiful little specimen. It is evidently a very early form. We observe that, as a rule, the earlier forms are the smallest, and generally show the best workmanship. Of course this remark does not apply to the very modern oval and other examples. We may add that the largest token we have is that of Second Killymurris. It is a large oblong of thin copper, 1¾ inch long by 1 inch broad. It has 2. K. M incussed upon it.

Grange, Co. Antrim.

Two varieties: both very small; among the smallest tokens we possess or have seen.

FIG. 30.

One variety has G C incised, fig. 30, the letters side by side; the other has the same letters incised, but the one above the other: $\frac{G}{C}$. Fig. 31.

FIG. 31.

Island Magee (First), Co. Antrim.

FIG. 32.

One token: square, rather small, with I.M on the obverse. Fig. 32.

This token has been long in use, but we have no means of fixing its date.

Island Magee (Second).

One variety: a medium-sized oblong, with raised rim round the edges on obverse, and the letters I.M above and S.C below. S and C represent Secession Congregation. Fig. 33. This congregation was at first associated with the Seces-

FIG. 33.

sion charge in Larne (now Gardenmore); but in 1829 it was erected into an independent charge, and the Rev. David Potter ordained its first minister. The token was then struck. The issue was much larger than the size of the congregation demanded, and at present there are in the session-room several parcels which have never been opened or used.

Killead, Co. Antrim.

One variety: round, slightly larger than an ordinary halfpenny. It has on obverse (above) "Killead" and "Presbyterian" in two lines; (below) "Congregation," and within 1843.

FIG. 34.

On the reverse (above) are the words "TOKEN OF ADMISSION," (below) "TO THE LORD'S SUPPER," in three lines. Fig. 34.

We have selected this, and the token next described, as somewhat unusual forms, from a collection kindly sent us by the editor. The description of the others would make this paper too long; and, besides, they are all for the most part of the commoner types.

Killinchy, Co. Down.

One token: round, exactly the size of a halfpenny. It bears on the obverse the very unusual description, "Killinchy Communion TICKET." We have not met with any other instance of this use of TICKET for TOKEN. Fig. 35.

FIG. 35.

Larne (First), Co. Antrim.

Two varieties. The older of the two has a very archaic look. Fig. 36. On the obverse "LEARN, 1700"; on reverse "ALES ENVER." This is the oldest dated token known to have been struck by the Old Presbyterian Congregation of Larne (now Unitarian).

FIG. 36.

The present First Larne, in connection with the General Assembly, was a split off the old congregation in 1715.

The second variety is, like its predecessor, a round token, but considerably larger. On obverse, round the border, the words "Larne & Inver Presbyt^{n}. Congregat^{n}.," and within, the word "ERECTED," with the date 1627 underneath. Fig. 37. On reverse, round border

(above), "TOKEN OF ADMISSION TO," and (below) "THE LORD'S SUPPER"; within, the date 1841.

The date 1627 must be a mistake.[1] There was no Presbyterian congregation then in Larne. As this token was struck in 1841, after the union of the Synods, the congregation should have been designated by its official title, First Larne, not Larne and Inver.

FIG. 37.

LARNE (GARDENMORE).

One variety: a square token, with the corners removed. On the obverse the letters A C at the top, the word "LARNE" underneath, and below this again the date 1785. The first minister of this congregation was the Rev. John Nicholson, who was ordained in 1784. The token was consequently struck during his ministry. The letters A C denote "Associate Congregation." See fig. 38.

FIG. 38.

This token remained in use till 1881, and was not discontinued without considerable objection on the part of the committee of the congregation. In fact the bill for the first supply of communion cards to take its place was disallowed by them for several years, and was privately paid for by a member of the session who desired to have the change effected.

NOTE.—On the Continent, tokens of various kinds have been in use as permits, or counters, from very early times.

In France, mention is made of them as far back as the year 1167. A charter, bearing this date, given to the Counts of Nevers, refers to them as articles well known, and as conferring on those who possessed them the exclusive right to cry, carry, and sell certain commodities which are specified. An order of the Sheriffs of Douai, dated 1217, shows that tokens of a particular description were employed as the equivalents at times of certain small coins then in current use. Also, a royal decree of the year 1346 speaks of "clerks of the tokens for almsgiving."

The use of them in these and other ways was by no means confined to civil life; it had a place as well in ecclesiastical circles. By the end of the fourteenth century, or the commencement of the fifteenth, the employment of tokens had spread to almost all the chapters of the French colleges. The clergy and others received them in recognition of their services; and then on delivering them to the authorized paymaster, obtained an amount of money proportioned to the number handed in. In this way both the keeping of the accounts, and the checking of them from time to time, were facilitated.

Taking these things into account, we can easily see how the authorities, amongst those who professed the Reformed Religion, came, in the sixteenth century, to use tokens for the purpose of guarding approach to the Lord's Supper.

The suggestion that they should do so came, in the first instance, from John Calvin. The Council of Geneva, however, refused to adopt his proposal. They saw in it "great and

[1] This fiction has been repeated on the summit of the meeting-house in Larne, and is quite misleading.—ED.

exceptional difficulties." But the rulers of the French Protestants were of a different opinion. They desired it, and set themselves vigorously to the carrying of it into execution; so much so, indeed, that by the end of the century almost all the congregations of the new communion had adopted it, Nimes leading the way. In 1562 the congregation there began to use them; others followed suit, and the practice continued down till the year 1840.

At first the tokens were distributed to those entitled to receive them by the elders, who visited the homes of the communicants for the purpose. This was done under the supervision of the Sessions, who regularly revised the rolls of membership. But, after a time, it was found that this arrangement put an unnecessarily heavy burden upon the elders, so a different plan was adopted. Those desiring tokens were required to call for them at the homes of the elders. They were to do this in person, and not send children or servants in their stead. In some instances, however, the distribution was made at the door of the meeting-place on the morning of the observance, or on some convenient day beforehand, usually the Thursday.

Of the tokens then in use, Hugh Gelin (to whose book, *Le Mereau dans les Eglises Reformées de France*, we are indebted for the greater part of this information) figures fifty-eight. These are divisible into two classes.

Those of the first class are comparatively small, and bear upon them the name or the initials of the locality to which they belong. Usually, too, they have on one of their faces a sacramental cup, or chalice, with some dots, or small rectangles, which denote the sacramental bread.

Those of the second class are larger, and have upon them the figure of a shepherd, holding in one of its hands a horn, which it is blowing; and in the other a staff, or crook; whilst near at hand are a number of sheep. In some instances the reverse bears the name of the congregation, in others a text of the Holy Scripture, or, if not these, the arms of some city, or of the seigneur in whose territory the congregation or city was.

Parliamentary Memoranda of Bygone Days.

By the Earl of Belmore, G.C.M.G.

In the first number of this Journal a paper of mine appeared, entitled "Some Social Notes of the Plantation of Ulster." From the same and other sources, as those notes were derived from, I shall endeavour to describe some parliamentary and electioneering incidents connected with the north-west of Ireland, which occurred between the Parliament of James I. and the first Parliament of the late Queen Victoria, both inclusive.

The Parliament which met in Dublin in 1613 was the first in which Ulster was represented. It contained members for the nine counties of Ulster, and also for a number of boroughs, all of which must have been small places—some of them like Enniskillen at that early period, mere collections of a few houses. Sir William Cole, who was Constable of the Castle, had received a grant of the island of Enniskillen (except the castle), upon which he was to build a town

of twenty houses, which town he was to obtain incorporation of. The inhabitants were to be the burgesses.[1] In point of fact the town was incorporated on 27 February, 1612-13, with himself as Provost, and with only fourteen burgesses. The names of the latter were Sir John Wishert, Knt.; Roger Atkinson, Robert Cathcart, Henrie Hunnings, and Thomas Barton, esquires; Edward Sybthorpe, gentleman; and Thomas Shaw, William Hall, Nicholas Ozenbrooke, Alexander Dunbar, Edward Moore, Alexander Wigham, Ferdinand Burfield, and John Walters. No doubt the Government of the day kept a tight hand over the representation. One of the first members was Captain Roger Atkinson, who had been Provost-Marshal in Ulster, and who had (20 January, 1611-12) received a patent of the estate now known as the Castlecoole estate, and which afterwards passed into my own family by purchase during the time of the Commonwealth. The other member was Humphrey Farnham, gentleman. He appears to have belonged to the official class,[2] and in 1623 was a commissioner for the escheated counties of Fermanagh and Cavan.

From the first Parliament of Charles II. the borough seems to have been under the influence of the Cole family, thirteen members of that family having represented it in Parliament.[3]

Froude, speaking of the Irish Parliament in 1783 (*The English in Ireland*, vol. ii, pages 365-6), says: "Two members sate for each of the 32 counties. The boroughs and cities returned 236. The county electors were free, *snbject only to the influence of the landowners.*[4] Sixty borough seats were partially free; i.e., the electors, if careless of consequences, might, by an effort, make an independent choice. 176 seats out of the whole number of 300 were the property of bishops, peers, and commoners. They were bought and sold without disguise. The perpetual advowson (if the phrase may be used) of a borough was £8,000 or £9,000. A single seat in a single Parliament could be had for £2,000; and the purchaser avowedly intended to recoup himself by the sale of his vote."

[1] Certain fields near Enniskillen are, or were, known as "Burgess acres." Two of them belonged to the Castlecoole estate. Captain Roger Atkinson, the first patentee of Castlecoole, was one of the first burgesses. One of these fields now forms part of the Roman Catholic cemetery. The reason of the name appears to be this: Sir William Cole received a grant of one-third of the island of Enniskillen lying on the side of the castle towards Tonystick. He was to settle twenty persons (who were to form the corporation of the borough) on this land; to set apart sites for a town, church, churchyard, market-place, gaol, and public school, etc.; and to build for the townspeople twenty houses with backsides and gardens. To ten of the latter he was to assign two acres each; to the other ten, one acre each; with thirty acres in common to be called the Burgess field, for which each person having a common pasture was to pay to Cole a rent of fourpence a year. This would account for the way in which Tonystick is divided up at the present day.

[2] *Vide* my *Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh*, page 12.

[3] *Vide ibid.*, page 3. [4] The italics are mine.

As far as the boroughs were concerned, the foregoing description may be accurate enough; but as regards the so-called freedom of the counties, I think that I shall be able to show by examples, both at this very period and at a much later date, that the important qualification which Froude admits, and which I have italicized, rendered the so-called freedom of the mass of the county electors almost entirely nugatory: at least in the part of the country about which I am writing. The seats in Fermanagh and Tyrone (and probably elsewhere) were in the hands of such of the leading gentry, the majority of whom could agree upon a candidate; so much so, that I remember my uncle, a former member for Tyrone, telling me that, in his younger days (he was first elected in 1825), no candidate thought of canvassing a gentleman's tenants without his permission.

It is important to bear this in mind in connection with the action of county representatives in former times. Nothing approaching the present ideas of responsibility to the constituency at large, on the part of a sitting member, could in those circumstances have possibly prevailed. A county member owed his seat to family influence, or something of that kind; and no doubt considered himself as quite unpledged to the mass of the electors. It has been brought as a charge against a former member for Tyrone, who was then the head of my own family, that he "had betrayed his trust to his constituents, and had seduced another member of Parliament from the popular side," on the very flimsy grounds of the wording of the Lord-Lieutenant's letter of 22 September, 1780, to the Secretary of State in England, in recommending him for a peerage. The Viceroy, who happened to be his father-in-law, said: "My private wish would certainly influence in favour of Mr. Armar Lowry-Corry; but his extensive property, his having supported the Government, though elected for the County Tyrone by popular interest, his having also induced another gentleman to follow his example, may give him some claim to His Majesty's favour."[1]

[1] The only vote in the House of Commons given by Armar Lowry-Corry which is on record, is one on 9 October, 1771, against the Government, upon a motion relative to the public moneys. I once had a very curious (though rather scurrilous) Division list, in which those who voted with the Government in one of the divisions upon this date were described by epithets of which "placeman" was amongst the mildest; whilst the list of the minority was headed "The men who were honest, even in Townshend's days"—Viscount Townshend being Lord-Lieutenant. On 23 February, 1785, he signed (by proxy) a protest against that part of an address to the Lord-Lieutenant which seemed to indicate a future measure for a "commercial settlement." On 12 March, 1799, his name appears to a protest against the third reading of a Bill for the Suppression of the Rebellion, as one changing the freedom of civil government to a military despotism, etc. At the time he obtained a peerage he must have been one of the largest landowners in Ireland, having estates in Tyrone, Fermanagh, Longford, Monaghan, and Armagh. In 1800, he, as Lord Belmore, in the House of Lords, voted and signed two protests (by proxy) against the Act of Union. He was the patron of the Burroughs of Belturbet and Ballyshannon, carrying four votes; and his son, Viscount Corry, was M.P. for Tyrone, both before and after the Union, which he also opposed. Naturally, Lord Belmore's name did not appear in the list of Representative Peers; and his son had to wait till 1819 before obtaining election as one.

The particular measures on which Corry had supported the Government are not mentioned; but, no doubt, those more particularly in the Viceroy's mind in September 1780 would have been the Mutiny and Supply Bills. Grattan had succeeded in forcing the British Cabinet to consent to an Irish Mutiny Act, Ireland having hitherto been subject to the English Act. But the Cabinet had insisted on its being perpetual instead of biennial, and had had their way for the moment by a considerable majority. Froude seems to admit that some at least of the members who were in sympathy with Grattan, thought him to be going a little too fast in this matter, for what they considered the public security. The other measure on which Grattan had failed was an attempt to introduce into the Supply Bill a protection duty against British loaf sugar, which duty the English Privy Council had refused to sanction. This was an economic question on which a member who had been elected four years before was assuredly free to form his own judgment.

I need hardly pursue this subject further, but can safely leave the reader to decide the matter for himself, on learning the actual state of affairs in a neighbouring north-west of Ireland constituency at or about this time. The reasons urged by the Viceroy (viz., large estates and parliamentary support) seem to be very like those which might be given at the present day in recommending a member of the House of Commons for a peerage.

The first electioneering incident which I may notice is in connection with the election for the county of Fermanagh in 1613. It appears from the Calendar of State Papers (Jac. i, 1611-14) that a petition was lodged on 31 May, 1613, against the return of Sir Henry Folliott and Sir John Davies, alleging that—

"Connor Roe McGwire and Donnell McGwire were elected;[1] notwithstanding the Sheriff[2] falsely returned Sir Henry Folliot and Sir John Davys, who have no residence there. Captain Goare pulled the beard from the face of Brene Thomas McGwire, for giving his voice with Connor Roe and Donnell McGwire" (page 362).

The result is mentioned (page 440, No. 781) 12 November, 1613:

"The Commissioners examined witnesses on both parts, and for anything appearing to them, the Sheriff made a just return of Sir Henry Foliot and Sir John Davys. Concerning the force said to have been used, it is confessed on oath by Bryan Maguire, whose beard was said to be pulled from his face, that Captain Gore[3] did shake him by the beard, but pulled no part of it away, nor did him any other hurt."

[1] These were probably Sir Cornelius (knighted in 1616) and his son Donald (see vol. iii, pages 176–7).

[2] Thomas Flowerdewe was Sheriff in 1613.

[3] Afterwards Sir Paul Gore, ancestor of the Earl of Ross (title extinct); the Earl of Arran, and Gore, baronets; also of Lord Harlech.

We find from the *Life of Sir John Davies*, by G. Chalmers (1786), that Sir John Davies (who was the Attorney-General) was proposed, when Parliament met,

"as Speaker by the Court; Sir John Everard, who had been an Irish Judge, but resigned because he could not take the oath of supremacy, was supported by the Roman Catholic party. The House divided. The Court members went out according to Parliamentary form. But their opponents, considering themselves the majority of legal representatives, placed Sir John Everard in the chair as duly elected. And nothing remained for the real majority but to remove the intruder, and to place the true Speaker in the same chair."

The minority then seceded, amidst the applause of the great body of the people. The Lord-Deputy prorogued Parliament to allow men's minds to cool, and the seceders to lay their complaints before the King. There was an inquiry by the King in Council, and all were patiently heard; but the complaints about elections were all declared groundless, except those of two boroughs which had been erected after the issuing of the writs.[1] "Bacon, who as Attorney-General was consulted about the affairs of Ireland, told King James, 'That it was always safe to keep in the middle way between extremes'" (Davies' *Hist. Tracts*, page xx).

The Irish House of Commons met after the prorogation on 11 October, 1614, at 8 a.m., when "public thanks were given to God, by Sir John Davies, Knt., Speaker of the House of Commons," and the House adjourned until 9 a.m. next morning. On that day Robert Barnewell "moved that the Information of the King was not full; therefore desired a further Examination of the Returns." A debate arose, in the course of which Farnham, the Member for Enniskillen, argued "touching Mr. Barnewell's motion, not to call that in question which the King settled."

Rather more than a century and a half later, another Ulster election petition throws some light upon how matters sometimes stood in the boroughs. Newtownlimavady was a small borough town in the county of Derry.[2] It had been represented from 1741 by Captain Edmund Leslie-Corry of Prospect (now Leslie Hill), County Antrim, who was the husband of one of the Corry coheiresses (Martha) of Castlecoole, County Fermanagh, and had assumed her name. He died, as we learn from Pue's *Occurrences* of 24-27 November, 1764, at Stephen's Green, Dublin, where he had a house; and a new writ was issued for Newtownlimavady. Arthur Magan was returned; where-

[1] *Vide* my *Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh*, page 8. Sir John Davies obtained an assignment of Lisgoole Abbey from Sir Henry Bruncker, who had a grant of it 12 November, 1606. *Vide* also vol. iii, page 189.

[2] The population in 1891 was 2,796.

upon John Staples lodged a petition, complaining of an undue election. The case was heard by a committee; and Pery, on 4 December, 1765, presented a report as follows :[1]

"Mr. Speaker,

"The committee examined William King, who said that he is a Burgess of Newtown Limavady; that the 2nd day of November last was appointed for the election by the Provost, Mr. Thomas Smith; that he (the Witness) was present at the Election on the day appointed; that the Provost went into the Court House, he believes, a few minutes before 8 o'c. in the morning; that in a minute before or after 8 o'c. he ordered the Court to be opened. Upon that, the witness objected, and said 'Mr. Provost, this is a very early hour,' for he knew that Captain John Staples was in the neighbourhood, with intent to offer himself as a candidate upon that election. That the Provost seemed to take no notice of what he said, upon which the witness said he knew the Provost had been served with a notice before seven that morning by Captain Staples, that he would attend the Election. That the Provost did not acknowledge that he had received such notice, but he did not deny it; that the Provost then proceeded to the election; that Colonel Burton recommended one Arthur Magan as a candidate upon the Election; that the Witness then proposed Captain John Staples as a candidate; that three persons only voted for Mr. Magan and Robert Johnson; and the witness voted for Captain Staples; that the Provost thereupon immediately declared Mr. Magan duly elected. That the five were polled in one minute, and the whole proceeding so far did not exceed four minutes. That upon the Provost declaring Mr. Magan duly elected, the witness said that could not be, for there was not a good Burgess present but the two who voted for Mr. Staples and the Provost himself. That the Provost then asked if the members present would sign the books; Mr. Johnson and the Witness refused to sign them; but the three persons who voted for Mr. Magan, and the Provost signed the books. That the Provost then immediately called to the Sergeant to adjourn the Court, and the witness objected to the Adjournment, for he said Captain Staples and some more Burgesses were expected in town upon the Occasion. That the Crier began to adjourn the Court, and the witness a second time begged of the Provost not to adjourn the Court, for that he was sure Captain Staples was upon the road coming to Town; upon which the Provost said he must adjourn the Court, for that Colonel Burton was a Member of Parliament; and must go to town immediately to attend the Parliament; that the witness answered that Colonel Burton had voted for Mr. Magan, and signed the books, and no more was required of him. That the Provost then ordered the Sergeant to adjourn the Court to twelve o'clock on the same day to his own house, which was accordingly done; that the witness believes that seven or eight minutes were consumed in the whole of the said transaction, and said he believes they staid three minutes longer in Court, and no more, in drinking a glass of wine. That then they left the Court house; that Captain Staples came to town in ten or twelve minutes after they had left the Court house, and John McCausland, a burgess, came with him; that he heard Mr. McCausland then say he came to vote for Mr. Staples, and that he never knew an Election held before at so early an hour, though he had been a Burgess thirty years. That Captain Staples, in about ten minutes after his arrival, was advised by some gentlemen to go to the Townhall, which he accordingly did, but could not get admittance, the door being shut. That the witness then went to the Inn which joins the Town House, to get the key of another door to the Town House, but was told by the man of the Inn, that the key had been taken from him some time before. The Witness said he had been a burgess twenty years, and never knew an election held before ten o'clock before. That the present Provost had acted about ten years in that office; and that he never knew the Provost to hold any election before ten o'clock before; that the present Provost was elected into that office about ten years ago, and has continued Provost under the first election, and has never been elected since. The witness further said there was no particular objection made to any of the voters, but that he objected in general to three who voted for Mr. Magan; and then the Committee came to the following Resolution;

[1] Commons Journals, vol. viii, page 62.

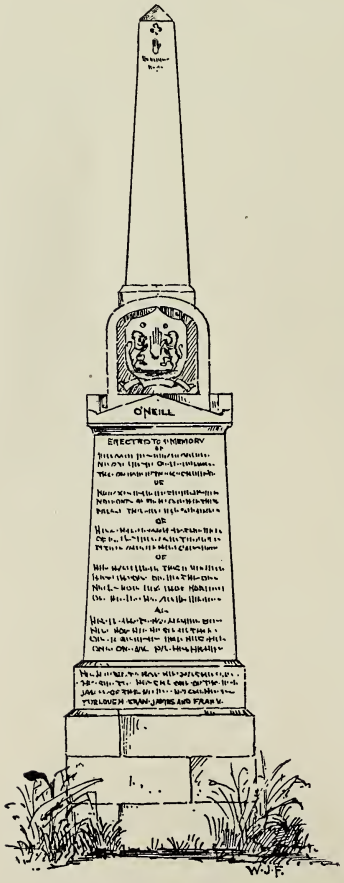
"Resolved that it is the opinion of this Committee, that Arthur Magan Esq. is not duly elected and returned as a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Newtown Limavady, in the county of Londonderry.

"To which Resolution, the question being put, the House did agree.

"Ordered, that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new writ for electing a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the said Borough of Newtown Limavady, in the room of the said Arthur Magan."

The result of the new election was the return of Captain Staples. Colonel Burton was the other sitting member for the borough.

(To be continued.)



The O'Neill Monument, Donaghmore.

By William J. Fennell.

WE reproduce a sketch of the monument erected to the descendants of Hugh O'Neill of the Red Hand, which stands in the sadly neglected and unkempt graveyard at the head of the cheery little village of Donaghmore, County Tyrone. This memorial, which is anything but Irish in its design, bears near the apex a shamrock and the "red hand," below which are the words "Erected by Professor P. O'Neill, Dundee," and the armorial bearings lower down contain the motto "LAMH · DEARE · ERINN" and the name "O'NEILL" on the gablet underneath. The inscription on the lower panels reads as follows:

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY
OF
HUGH O'NEILL OF THE RED HAND OF ULSTER CREATED EARL OF TYRONE
BY HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH AND AFTERWARDS
ELECTED KING OF ALL IRELAND BY THE KINGS CHIEFS AND EARLS AND
WITH THE UNANIMOUS GOOD WILL OF THE COMMON PEOPLE OF HIS COUNTRY
WHO
DIED IN EXILE AT ROME ON THE 20th JULY 1616 AGED 76 YEARS, HE WAS

INTERRED WITH THE RIGHTS AND CEREMONIES OF HIS CREED, AND ALSO THE POMP THAT HEREDITARILY BELONGED TO HIS NOBLE NAME AND ROYAL STATION IN LIFE

AND

OF HIS FOREFATHERS AND DESCENDANTS, WHO ARE INTERRED HERE IN DONAGHMORE, COUNTY OF TYRONE, IRELAND, HE HAD FIVE SONS HUGH, HENRY, JOHN, BRIEN AND CON.

OF

CON O'NEILL FIFTH SON OF THE KING WHO DIED AT GORTINACOLLY PARISH OF DONAGHMORE, TYRONE, IRELAND ON THE 16th MARCH 1670 AGED 65 AND IS INTERRED HERE IN DONAGHMORE; HE HAD FOUR SONS BORN TO HIM AT GORTINACOLLY, PARISH OF DONAGHMORE, NAMELY FELIMY, HUGH SHAN AND HENRY.

OF

FELIMY O'NEILL, ELDEST SON OF CON, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON 15th AUGUST 1723 AGED 51 YEARS AND IS INTERRED HERE IN DONAGHMORE HE HAD THREE SONS BORN TO HIM AT GORTINACOLLY NAMELY TURLOUGH SHAN AND CORMAC.

OF

TURLOUGH BAGHA O'NEILL ELDEST SON OF HUGH WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON 6th MARCH 1817 AND IS INTERRED HERE IN DONAGHMORE HE HAD FOUR SONS BORN TO HIM AT GORTINACOLLY NAMELY CON, SHAN BAIC KNOWN BY THE BYNAME OF STOUT OR YELLOW JOHN, FRANK AND JAMES

OF

CON O'NEILL ELDEST SON OF TURLOUGH BAGHA, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE AT ALTMORE ON 23rd DEC. 1841 AGED 51 YEARS AND IS INTERRED HERE IN DONAGHMORE, HE HAD SEVEN SONS BORN TO HIM AT GORTINDARRAGH PARISH OF DONAGHMORE COUNTY OF TYRONE IRELAND NAMELY TURLOUGH, JAMES, SHAN, CHARLES, CON, PATRICK AND FRANCIS NAKED CAME I OUT OF MY MOTHER'S WOMB AND NAKED SHALL I RETURN THITHER, THE LORD GAVE, AND THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY AS IT HATH PLEASED THE LORD SO IT IS DONE, BLESSED BE THE NAME OF THE LORD.
JOB. I. 21.

THE ABOVE IS AN EXACT COPY OF THE FAMILY STONE IN BALCOY CEMETERY ERECTED BY PROFESSOR O'NEILL DUNDEE ELDEST SON OF SHAN BAIC OR STOUT OR YELLOW JOHN TO THE MEMORY OF HIS FOREFATHERS WHO ARE INTERRED IN DONAGHMORE, AND TO HIS FATHER AND MOTHER AND FAMILY IN DUNDEE.

JOHN O'NEILL OR SHAN BAIC, KNOWN BY THE BYNAME OF STOUT THE SECOND SON OF TURLOUGH BORN AT GORTINACOLLY PARISH OF DONAGHMORE TYRONE IRELAND, WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON 7th MAY 1857 AGED 77 YEARS AND IS INTERRED IN THE CONSTITUTION BURYING GROUND DUNDEE HE HAD FIVE SONS BORN TO HIM AT GORTENDARRAGH AND ALTMORE PARISH OF POMEROY AND DONAGHMORE NAMELY PATRICK, TURLOUGH, SHAN, JAMES AND FRANK.

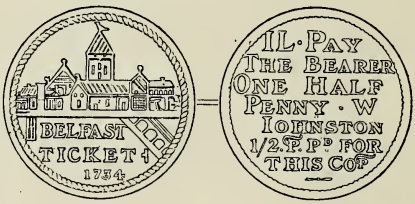
The graveyard is fully equal, in its neglected state, to many others in Ireland. In the yard, half-covered by gigantic nettles, is a curiously hollowed stone, which at times catches a little rain-water, much sought after as a cure for warts, the seeker leaving a pin in the cavity as a token or tribute of gratitude.

Outside the graveyard, facing the village street, is a fine old Irish cross, a reproduction of which would have been much more appropriate as a monument to an Irish prince than the mixture of an attempt at an Egyptian obelisk on a classic pedestal.

The Belfast Ticket of 1734.

By Lionel L. Fletcher.

THE famous Belfast Ticket, an illustration of which appears herewith, was first described and figured in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for January 1854 (old series, vol. ii, pages 29-31), in an interesting article contributed by the late George Benn, who again described it in his *History of the Town of Belfast* (1877, pages 462-3). The engraving of the token, which appears in the latter work, and which is reproduced in the *Town Book of Belfast* (1892, page 326), while more accurate in its details than that in the *Ulster Journal*, is alike incorrect in representing the reverse legend as reading "I will pay,"



whereas it should read "I'l pay." This error, however, does not occur in the engraving and description of the token in the late Dr. Aquilla Smith's well-known paper "On the Copper Tokens issued in Ireland from 1728 to 1761," which was first published in the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for 1868-9 (third series, vol. i, pages 417-34), and was afterwards reprinted and issued as a separate work.

The specimen described in the above-mentioned works, which was formerly in the possession of the late Edward Benn, is now in the Benn collection, Belfast Museum, and has hitherto been considered unique. The present writer, however, has recently acquired a specimen of this token, as shown herewith, which is of additional interest as being in better preservation than the former one, thus enabling the doubts as to the exact date and legend to be finally cleared up.

The token has hitherto been described as undated, but the present specimen shows the date 1734 on the obverse, below the words "Belfast Ticket." The date, now first ascertained, very closely confirms the views expressed by George Benn, who, in his article in the *Ulster Journal*, speaks of the token as having been issued about the year 1730, while in his *History of the Town of Belfast* he gives the probable date as 1735.

The reverse legend has also hitherto been incorrectly described. The word "for" being illegible on the former specimen, George Benn rendered the legend as ending "½ per p$^{d.}$ this co$^{t.}$" (cost), but the last letter, which he read as a "t," is the symbol for "per," which already occurs just before, the last word thus being a contraction for "copper." The legend is thus intended to read as follows: "I'l pay the bearer one half penny, W. Johnston, 1s. 2d. per pound for this co(p)per." The issuer thus states, as an assurance of the intrinsic value of the token, the price of the metal in which it is struck. This is a distinctive feature of the Belfast ticket, and does not occur on any other copper token known. It is apparently a promise to pay the price mentioned, but may, perhaps, be intended rather as a notification of what it has cost.

The present specimen is struck on a larger and thicker flan than the former one, and weighs 152 grains, while the weight of the "Benn" specimen, as recorded by Dr. Aquilla Smith, is only 106 grains. If the weight of the present specimen be taken as a standard, it would admit of forty-six tokens being struck from one pound of copper. After taking into account the cost of striking, this would allow the issuer very little profit, and would probably account for the token being subsequently reduced in weight, as in the case of the "Benn" specimen. That the latter is struck on a smaller flan than was originally intended is clearly apparent, as it admits of only half the corded border, which encircles the token, being shown.

The issue of the Belfast ticket was probably suggested by the well-known halfpenny tokens struck by James Maculla of Dublin, in the years 1728 and 1729, which bear a somewhat similar legend. It was probably the earliest of the interesting series of copper tokens which were issued in Ulster during the years 1734-6. This series, which includes nine other Belfast tokens, comprises, in addition to the Belfast ticket, one penny token, three threepenny tokens, and about forty twopenny tokens. Although the Belfast ticket is thus of a smaller promissory value than any other of this series, the weight of the present specimen is only exceeded by the threepenny token issued in 1736 by James Greer of Lurgan, which weighs 175 grains. The want of small change, which these tokens, in common with those issued by James Maculla, were intended to supply, was greatly felt in Ireland at this period in consequence of the failure of Wood's coinage, but was further met by a large issue of halfpence in the year 1736, the circulation of tokens being then prohibited.

The most interesting feature of this token is, of course, the repre-

sentation of Belfast which appears on the obverse. It shows a part of High Street, and the end of one of the bridges which crossed the then open river. The building whose lofty steeple figures most prominently in the view was considered by George Benn to be intended for the old market-house, which formerly stood at the corner of Corn Market. This building, as the centre of the town's trade, would certainly figure very appropriately on the token of one of its traders; and it is worthy of note that the Stewartstown token of 1736 (the only other Ulster token of this period which bears a representation of any building) has a view of its market-house. It is, however, a matter of considerable doubt whether, in the present instance, George Benn's theory is the correct one. In the writer's opinion the building here shown more probably represents the old parish church, also in High Street, which was taken down in the year 1774, and which stood on the site now occupied by St. George's Church. This church, as represented in Phillips's plan of Belfast (1685), had a pointed tower closely resembling that depicted on the Belfast ticket, while the tower of the market-house is there shown to have been surmounted by a cupola, which also appears in the view of High Street in 1786, which is reproduced in the *Town Book of Belfast* (page 100). The figure of a bird, which is represented on the token as adorning the tower, is not shown in any other view of the buildings in question, or it might otherwise have afforded conclusive evidence on the point.

With regard to the issuer of the Belfast ticket, no information has hitherto been forthcoming. There were, however, two persons of the name, who are mentioned at this period in the local records, and it was doubtless one of these who issued the token. The more prominent of these was the "William Johnston, of Newforge, near Belfast," who is mentioned in the *History of the Town of Belfast* (page 487) as having, in the year 1733, been granted a lease giving him the privilege of supplying the town with water, and whose name was long remembered in the locality under the sobriquet of "Pipe-water Johnston." The other person of this name, who was more probably, perhaps, the issuer of the token, was the "William Johnston, Baker," who, as recorded in the *Town Book of Belfast* (page 291), was admitted, in September 1729, to the freedom of the town, but of whom nothing further can at present be ascertained. Possibly, however, a search through the earlier numbers of the *Belfast News-Letter* might be the means of adding to our present information regarding this interesting token and its issuer.

The High Cross of Connor, Co. Antrim.

By the Rev. George R. Buick, ll.d.

There is preserved in the Connor rectory, thanks to the late Canon Fitzgerald, in a room directly under that in which I found the ogam-stone from the souterrain at Carncomb safely housed, a portion of the shaft of a high cross. It is 4 feet in

FRAGMENT OF THE HIGH CROSS OF CONNOR.
Photo by the writer.

height, 1 foot 2 inches in breadth across the face, and 1 foot in thickness. The panels are each about 17 inches long by 9 inches broad. For many years it stood at the head of a grave in the churchyard close at hand. I believe it was first met with in digging the grave. Canon Fitzgerald, recognising the importance of preserving such a relic of antiquity, had it removed to the vestry of the church. The owner of the grave was much displeased at this; some of his neighbours took up his quarrel, the vestry door was forced at dead of night, the stone abstracted and smashed into pieces. Fortunately the pieces were left just outside the church. The Canon had them carefully put together with cement, and the whole stored for safety in the rectory, where I had the pleasure of seeing and photographing it. It evidently belonged to a large, free-standing, and highly decorative cross which formerly stood in the neighbourhood. The scenes represented in the two panels still perfect are "Aaron and Hur supporting the arms of Moses," and "The Judgment of Solomon." As will be observed from the illustration, the latter occupies the lower panel of the two. In view of the opinion sometimes advanced that the Ogam area and the High Cross area are mutually exclusive of one another, this ancient ecclesiastical fragment is specially interesting.

(From the Journal of the R.S.A., vol. xxxii, page 243.)

Ulster Bibliography.

By E. R. McC. Dix.

(Continued from vol. viii, page 171.)

DUNGANNON (Supplemental).

I have lately acquired the following pamphlet; and as specimens of Dungannon printing in the eighteenth century are very rare, and this has some peculiarity in its form, I give it very fully. There are apparently two pamphlets, each with its own title-page. The first pamphlet has no printer or place of printing given on its title-page, merely the date of printing—"1798." It ends on the tenth page, and is dated from "Dublin," being signed "W. C. Lindsay, Captain Fort-Edward Cavalry." Then follows a blank leaf, part of the same sheet, and counting as pages 11 and 12. The first 16 pages (8 leaves) form signature A. Next is the second title-page, that of

the second pamphlet, which has as its imprint "Dungannon: printed by W. Canning. 1798." It answers to page 13, and its blank verso to page 14. The second pamphlet (the reply to the first one) then begins on what counts as page 15. Its verso is numbered 16, and so the pagination continues to the end at page 24. The Reply has several explanatory footnotes. The paper and type are similar throughout; and I conclude that it is really one pamphlet, and entirely printed by Canning, who was the earliest known Dungannon printer, his name appearing from 1797 onward. The first part (or pamphlet) was apparently printed (or reprinted) to enable the readers of the second part to understand the Reply to Captain Lindsay's letter to the Primate. This, indeed, seems to be indicated by a sentence nearly at the close of the Reply. I have never before met a pamphlet in this form. The matter in controversy was a local one, and Dungannon and the names of local people occur frequently in it. The Reply is signed "James Brown, Yeoman." I now give both titles.

1798. A Letter to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, in which is vindicated the Principles and Conduct of *Orangemen*. 8vo. 10 pp. + 1 blank leaf (= pp. 11 and 12),

with

Truth. Being a *short* Answer to a *Libellous* Pamphlet: signed, W. C. Lindsay, Captain Fort-Edward Cavalry. *W. Canning*. 8vo. 12 pp.; viz., title-leaf (+ pp. 13 and 14) = pp. 15 to 24.

[E. R. McC. Dix.]

Miscellanea

Pottery from Whitepark Bay, County Antrim.

I OBSERVED your remarks on the pottery found at Whitepark Bay at last Easter, with report thereon by Henry J. Seymour of the Geological Survey, which was very interesting to me. I always regarded the pottery found at Whitepark Bay as having been made on the spot, and I have frequently drawn attention to large lumps of clay apparently prepared for making into pottery, which were found in the old surface, not only here but in other sites. The sand that is found in the pottery is easily accounted for; it is there on the spot; but it is

more difficult to account for the larger pieces; i.e., the "angular and sub-angular pieces of *basalt*, on an average about ⅛ inch to ¼ inch in diameter." Were they found somewhere ready to hand, like the sand? or has the basalt been broken up purposely to obtain those small pieces? I think the rock may have been purposely broken on some occasions; but several years ago I tried to solve this question, and found in various parts of the beds of the little rivulets that come down from the cliffs the same sort of black fragments of rock as is found in the pottery. When some of the coarse pottery was broken, and the pieces of rock extracted, they were found to be identical with those which I found in the hollow parts of the rivulets. I therefore think that frost and general denudation would break off the small pieces of rock higher up, and they would have such a short course to the places where I found them in the beds of the streams that they could not have lost their angular and sub-angular character. The pottery is not, however, merely sun-dried; it is acknowledged by our best authorities that our prehistoric pottery was burned after being made. That is the reason why the fragments last so long and so well; they are practically indestructible while buried up in the earth; while anything merely sun-dried would soon return to its original earth. There is an urn-maker somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Causeway, and he dries his ware in the sun, but does not take the trouble of firing it. A few years ago he sold one of his urns to a gentleman, who, thinking it smelt rather strongly of peat smoke, steeped it overnight in a basin of water, but in the morning it had dissolved and was a shapeless mass of clay.

W. J. KNOWLES.

Communion Vessels, Parish of Ballyphilip, County Down.

IT may be of interest to you to know that I have in my charge, as incumbent of this parish (Ballyphilip, or Portaferry), an old pewter communion flagon dated 1752. It is about ten inches in height and about twelve in circumference, and bears the inscription, "For the use of the Church of Portferry" *(sic)*. It was used in Templecraney Church, Portaferry, in which divine service was held up till the year 1787, when the present parish church was erected. The flagon, which is rudely made, and has at some period been clumsily repaired, has not been in use for a long period, having been superseded by an electro-plated communion set, which again has been succeeded by a silver communion service, presented by the family of the late Rev. J. L. M. Scott, Chancellor of Down. There are also in regular use in the parish church two pewter offertory plates of the same date. These were laid aside for some time in favour of two wooden long-handled collecting-boxes. The latter are now suspended in the vestry as relics of the past, and the original plates have been for many years again in use.

REV. GEORGE S. GREER.

Battle of Clones, 1643.

IN the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii, page 492, Henry MacTully O'Neill says: "In this action, which continued more than a full hour, the Irish lost about one hundred and fifty men, among whom Colonel Con Oge O'Neill, Daniel's brother, was murdered by a Presbyterian minister after quarter given." The Rev. George Hill adds (*Montgomery Manuscripts*, page 322): "It is to be regretted the assassin's name is not recorded. It was customary, however, with such ministers to accompany the Scottish troops as 'chaplains' in their desolating raids among the Irish throughout various parts of Ulster." . . . "One of the followers of the Scottish army on this expedition [the raid conducted by Munro during the preceding summer of 1642] was Livingstone, a Presbyterian minister, who, in search of plunder or to satisfy an impure curiosity, made a particular inspection of the dead bodies of the Irish slain at the passes of Kilwarlin. For in his *Life* he says 'they were so fat that one might have hid their fingers in the lirks of their breast'" (*U.J.A.*, old series, vol. viii, p. 79). Are there any other corroborations of these statements? Neither of them is mentioned by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, and the latter is only incidentally referred to in a footnote by Reid (vol. i, page 355) as "a curious piece of information"; no attempt at refutation is made. The Rev. George Hill was always noted for his straightforward veracity, and never indulged in *suppressio veri*. Still, other evidence would be valuable.

J. C.

Hugh Montgomery of the Ardes, First Earl of Mount Alexander.

In an account of "Blood's Plot" (vol. vii, page 197) the Rev. W. T. Latimer records that Montgomery, though a Churchman, took the Covenant. A curious side-light is thrown upon this "taking of the Covenant" by leaders and others, who had evidently by their actions and belief no sympathy with it, in the old *Ulster Journal*, vol. viii, page 64, where Sir James Turner, a lieutenant-general of the Scottish forces under Munro, who took the Covenant as he said, "For I wold have made no bones to take sweare and signe it and observe it too; for I had then a principle, having not yet studied a better one, that I wronged not my conscience in doeing anything I was commanded to doe by those whom I served." . . . "If such were the ethics of the officers of Sir James Montgomery's regiment," says the writer, "it will account for the eagerness with which they sought to have their regiment incorporated with Munro's Scottish forces in 1643." J. C.

Derry Order of Integrity, 1774.

A silver oval engraved badge, pierced for suspension, and measuring 2⅜ in. by 1⅞ in., has come to me from a London dealer. The obverse has, upon a central circular band, "The Order of Integrity," and enclosed by it—

"The Glorious Memory. Feb. 8th. April 28th. July 7th. Nov. 9th. } 1774,"

and on the outer rim, "Thos. Howell. Orrice Weaver." Reverse, within a laurel wreath—

"Like a true centinel
Your post did keep
Until our cause was
Quite compleat.
May each just claim be
Crown'd with like success,
And children yet unborn
Your name shall bless."

With this was Mossep's medal, in silver, of the "Apprentice Boys of Derry Club, Founded 1814." Is anything now known of this Order, which may have been the precursor of the Apprentice Boys' Club? or was it merely commemorative of a bond of integrity formed between Thos. Howell and Orrice Weaver? R. D.

The Corporate Seal of Limavady.

I was pleased to find that the subject introduced by my article (vol. viii, page 146) attracted the notice of John Vinycomb, M.R.I.A. (see vol. viii, page 200), who has such an extensive knowledge of these matters. I was unable to find in his articles on the "Corporate Seals of the Towns of Ulster" any reference to the Limavady seal, so that it is now satisfactory to have his description of it. My "fanciful" idea was, however, not meant to symbolize the "Redshanks," as no MacDonnell settled in Limavady.

After having written the article, I mentioned to the Rev. J. Trelawny Ross, D.D., the possessor of the seal, that, on further consideration, I thought the correct interpretation of the arms was that they were those of the Connolly family, the former lords of the manor of Limavady, as it was customary for a borough to take the arms of some local landowner (e.g., Cavan, etc.).

If the arms are those of the Connolly family, the seal must be of a later date than the grant of the charter (1613). The Connollys did not come into possession of the manor until 1700, and the grant of arms to the Rt. Hon. William Connolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, was not made until 1715. Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, thinks that the seal looks like the year 1730. What, then, has become of the original seal, presumably used after the granting of the charter?

John Vinycomb has made a mistake in his description of the Connolly arms. The arms ascribed by Burke, and in the original grant to the Rt. Hon. W. Connolly, are "*Argent on a saltire* ENGRAILED *sable, five escallops of the field*" (*Landed Gentry*, 1899, page 82). Here we do find mention of *engrailing*. E. M. F.-G. B.

Reviews of Books.

Publications having any bearing upon local matters, or upon Irish or general Antiquarian subjects, will be reviewed in this column; Books or Articles for Review to be sent to the Editor.

Belfast Literary Society, 1801–1901: Historical Sketch of some Distinguished Members. Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd. 1902. Price 10*s.*

No more elegant and sumptuous volume than this relating to Belfast has appeared in recent years. Artistic in cover, and illustrated with a taste not surpassed in the most expensive works, as a book alone it is a treasure, but to local people its contents crown its charms. A concise and well written sketch of the Society fittingly opens the volume, followed by biographical studies, from the pens of those best qualified to write, of such men as Dr. MacDonnell, Dr. Bruce, Henry Joy, Robert Patterson, and others too numerous to mention. Nine portraits are given; and this is our sole regret, that portraits of all were not reproduced and thus permanently handed down for all time. In private hands, portraits of our noted men are so liable to get lost with the decease of those who personally knew them, that it is most desirable they should be so preserved.

* * * *

Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682–1750. By Albert Cook Myers. Pennsylvania. 1902. Price $3.50.

We have all a kindly place in our hearts for the "Friends," no matter how we may differ from them in religious belief. Their actions from their foundation have been consistent, and they have never persecuted their opponents by word or deed, and in this respect they stand alone amidst all the denominations of Christendom. Settling in America when full justice was denied them at home, in many instances they fared little better from the Puritans and Presbyterians who had themselves sought shelter across the ocean, such was the spirit of the times. A great deal of interesting biographical matter is given of Quaker families with their Irish antecedents and their descendants in the new world. There is also a healthy tone about the book, and that full freedom from bigotry which one would only expect from such a source. The views of old meeting-houses in Ireland add to the value of a book which we can heartily commend to our readers.

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Blake Family Records. By Martin J. Blake. London: Elliot, Stock & Co. 1902. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Blakes were one of the principal tribal families of Galway, and hold a strong place in the mediæval history of Connacht, and are still, we are glad to say, well represented in their old strongholds, with many representatives here and there the world over. These records are the most valuable contemporaneous evidences we have of the manners and customs of past centuries and the devolution of the land. Not to the Blakes alone is such a book as this valuable; numerous pedigrees and fac-simile documents are contained within its pages.

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Christ Lore. By Frederick W. Hackwood. London: Elliot, Stock & Co. 1902. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*

This is a book of Christian legend and tradition, with a wide range of symbolic lore almost exhaustive in its completeness. The illustrations are a special feature of the work, mostly reproductions from originals. As a readable book we can recommend it to those interested in this most entrancing study, and to all it will be found a safe and reliable work of reference on the many questions that are continually cropping up with the general reader.

Catalogue of Early Belfast Printed Books, 1694–1830. By John Anderson. Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd. 1902.

This is a supplement to the Catalogue of 1890 from the same industrious pen. We have now an almost complete and reliable list of all the early Belfast-printed books, and so occupy a proud and unique position in Ireland in this respect. A careful perusal of the pages of this book will amply repay our local historians and all others desirous of knowing something of the past of Belfast.

* * * *

The Irish Texts Society. History of Ireland. By Geoffrey Keating. Edited and translated with notes by David Comyn. London. 1902.

One of the laudable objects of this Society is to place such books as this in the hands of the general reader, especially books for which the public demand would not perhaps be sufficient to warrant an independent issue. Like all previous publications of this excellent Society, the printing and general get-up could not be surpassed.

* * * *

Murray's Handbook for Ireland. Edited by John Cook, M.A. London: Edward Stanford. 1902. Price 9*s.*

This, the latest edition of an invaluable guide to Ireland, has been thoroughly corrected by the able and competent editor, and is certainly the most reliable of general guides. The series of maps contained within its pages is in itself a valuable acquisition and a correct itinerary, whilst the text contains references to practically every place in the country which can be visited, with accurately recorded populations, dates, etc., given in a clear and concise manner. The indexing is well nigh perfect. The price alone prevents this work from being absolutely popular.

* * * *

Society for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead. Edited by Colonel Vigors. The current part of this most excellent Society's proceedings contains much good work; that which attracts us most being the description and illustration of Miler Magrath's tomb in Cashel. Bishop Magrath was consecrated by the Pope for Down. There are numerous records from Ulster, and we are glad to observe that there is no lack of contributors. We have great pleasure in commending this publication to our readers. Colonel Vigors and his able coadjutors deserve our united thanks for the excellent work they are doing. We would also draw attention to Colonel Vigors's *magnus opus* now in the press—*Irish Church Plate.* This will shortly be issued in two volumes, and is certain to prove a great acquisition to all who take an interest in this subject. Intending subscribers should communicate with Colonel Vigors, Bagenalstown.

* * * *

The Newry Telegraph of 21 and 23 October, 1902, contains articles on the Parish Church of Donaghmore, Co. Down, and the Presbyterian Congregation in the same parish, from the pen of the rector, the Rev. J. Davison Cowan, LL.D.

* * * *

Guide to Belfast and the Counties of Down and Antrim. By the Members of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd. 1902. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

This guide, mainly published for the members of the British Association on the occasion of their visit to Belfast in 1902, reflects great credit on its numerous contributors. Natural science largely occupies its pages, but the general history of the city and district has not been overlooked, whilst the concluding pages contain antiquarian sketches of the most important subjects in the district, a comprehensive account not being attempted, as space and other circumstances did not permit of this being done. Ample, however, has been given to satisfy the full purpose of the book, whilst unrecorded natural science has been given full scope. The illustrations are excellent and numerous, and the maps well produced. The printing and general appearance of the book display the usual good taste and excellent workmanship of the printers and publishers.

The Coleraine Constitution, during the months of August, September, and October, has contained articles on Ballycastle, Portstewart, Kilrea, Rasharkin, Maghera, Ballintoy, Dunluce, Derrykeighan, Ballyrashane, Aghadowey, Ballymoney, etc. These papers are valuable in doing much to keep alive the interest of general readers in their own local history. They are compiled from the Ordnance Survey memoirs.

* * * *

Studies in Irish Epigraphy. By R. A. Stewart Macalister. London: David Nutt & Co. 1902. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

This is the second part of a comprehensive work from the pen of one of the most reliable students of this somewhat speculative subject. What keen research and painstaking examination can do he has done to elucidate correctly our numerous ogam inscriptions. Those from County Kerry occupy most of the volume, but several other counties are represented, and kindred examples given from England, Man, Scotland, Wales, Germany, and Sweden. Many previous antiquaries have dealt with this subject, of whose work the writer has taken full acknowledged advantage, so that, coupled with his own skilled study, the reader can rely with confidence on all the deductions made, even from those where the subjects are well nigh obliterated or destroyed. The book is a most valuable work of reference.

* * * *

Early Christian Architecture of Ireland. Privately printed for P. J. Lynch, from the Proceedings of the Limerick Field Club, by Guy & Co., Cork.

This pamphlet, neatly produced and well illustrated, deals with this subject in a popular and instructive manner, giving the views of one well qualified in architecture, more particularly early Christian, in which he has done much good work.

* * * *

The paper which excited the most local comment at the meeting of the British Association, held in Belfast in September 1902, was that of Dr. William Graham on the Ulster people. He reviewed at some length their characteristics and breeding—largely, however, from the point of view of a skilled lunacy expert. As a whole, he did not tell a flattering tale ; nevertheless, we believe a true one, no matter how we may prefer fiction to truth in such matters. We trust this paper may appear *in extenso* ; meantime we must rely upon the excellent report which appeared in the *Northern Whig*. Dr. Graham was fully aware of the origin of a large number—the bulk in fact—of the Ulster settlers, he himself being a good example of a class whom the environment of Ireland has certainly improved and softened from many asperities. "The Graemes were," as Sir Walter Scott tells us, "a hardy and ferocious set of freebooters, inhabiting chiefly the Debatable Land, who were by a very summary exercise of authority transported to Ireland, and their return prohibited under pain of death." The large bulk of the Scottish settlers, in Antrim especially, were of "that ilk" also, with characteristics and proclivities in most ways similar. Dr. Graham considers that there has been very little blending of races, and that the Ulster peasants are now much as they were, in this respect, two hundred years ago. Such plain-spoken facts, corroborated by the undeniable statements he made use of, are wholesome reading for us in these days when the tendency is to consider ourselves somewhat superior to other races, and to flatter ourselves that we all fled to Ireland to escape "persecution" and other motives equally laudable. This paper could not be too widely read nor too carefully conned over by all those who wish to understand the true position of Ulster and the qualities of its people.

* * * *

Notes on the Literary History of Strabane. By A. Albert Campbell. Omagh : "The Tyrone Constitution." 1902. Price 6*d.*

This little book sprang from the good seed sown in these pages by E. R. McC. Dix in his "Ulster Bibliography," and is a very fair compeer of Dr. Crossle's *Literary History of Newry*. The compiler has devoted much time and care in this collection of early Strabane-printed books. The copious notes and extracts are by no means the least interesting portion of the work.

MILER MAGRATH,

BISHOP OF DOWN, 1565; BISHOP OF CLOGHER, 1570;
ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, 1570–1622.

From the Original Painting in the Clogher Diocesan Collection.

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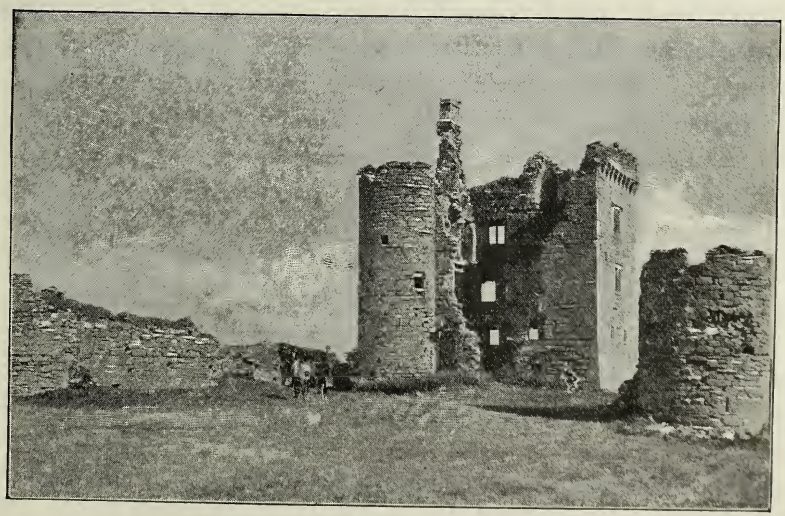
The Castle and Territory of Termon Magrath.

BY THE EARL OF BELMORE, G.C.M.G.

IN former articles in this Journal, either by the Earl of Erne or myself, illustrations have been given of the ruins of all the old Plantation castles in the county of Fermanagh, with the exception of Tullaghmargie and of Lord Maguire's house, of which



MAGRATH'S CASTLE, COUNTY DONEGAL.
From a Photo by Mercer, Enniskillen.

sufficient remains still exist to serve the purpose of illustrations. There is, however, still one more ruined castle within sight of Lough Erne, but situate in the county of Donegal, at a point where it

obtrudes itself between two portions of the Fermanagh barony of Lurg,[1] until it touches the waters of the great lough, near the village of Pettigo. Of the territory of Termon Magrath, on which this castle stands, and of one remarkable personage in particular connected with it, I now propose to treat.

In the Plantation map of 1609 (described in vol ii, p. 218, etc.) the present ruined castle is not marked, and was probably of later date.

Termon Magrath contains Lough Derg, otherwise known as St. Patrick's Purgatory, which has been the subject of a work by Canon O'Connor. In former days there was here an Augustinian foundation, which was dissolved at or after the Reformation. The lands appertaining to it passed into the possession of the local chieftain and erenach (Donagh Magrath), perhaps in some irregular way.[2]

In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth, 1596 (No. 13), pages 361-2 (Membrane ii), we find that there was a "Surrender by Donagh Magrath, otherwise called Gillagmana Magrath, chieftain of Termon Magrath and of his name in Ulster, and Milerus Magrath, Archbishop of Cashell, his eldest son, to the Queen, of the lands and territory of Termon Magrath and Termon Imonghan in Ulster, for the purpose of reducing the lands to English tenure, and with the intent that they should be re-granted to Donough for life, remainder to his eldest son Milerus for life; remainder to Terence, eldest son of Milerus, and his heirs male; remainder to Redmond, second son of Milerus, and his heirs male; remainder to Barnabe, third son of Milerus, and his heirs male; remainder to Marcus, fourth son of Milerus, and his heirs male; remainder to James, fifth son of Milerus, and his heirs male; remainder to Michael Magrath, second son of Donagh, and his heirs male; remainder to the right heirs of Donagh for ever."

Donagh is described as having good and just title to the castle and lands of Carna, the castle and lands of Cometh, and many other lands of which the meres and bounds are given with a good deal of detail, ending thus: "so returning unto the river called Ava-an-Tearmonde, and then to the great lake, called Loch Earne, where the river of Ava-an-Tearmonde, and the river Ava-leittregh fall into that

[1] In the Irish Historical Atlas all of the north shore of Lough Erne, from here to Belleek, is mapped as "Tirconnelle" (Donegal). If it were so at the time, it has not been so since the Plantation grants were made, but part of the barony of Lurg, Co. Fermanagh; as is also a small adjoining district in Tyrone called Ovara.

[2] It appears from "Cromwell's Place in History"; six lectures delivered in Oxford by Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Ford's Lecturer in English History), that—as he says at page 52—"Henry VIII. enriched the chiefs with the spoils of the monasteries." Canon O'Connor says (page 130) that the Magraths had been the hereditary guardians (or termoners or erenachs) of the territory.

lake." Another lake is spoken of, called "Seathfue"—also "the River Dearg."

On the same Membrane (ii), No. 14, page 362, 38th Elizabeth, 13 May, 1596, there follows a "Grant to Donagh Magrath of the castles, territory, and lands of Thearmonde Magrath, and Thearmonde Imonghan in Ulster; to hold for life, with the remainders in the preceding article mentioned, in capite, by military service, that is to say, by the twelfth part of a knight's fee; rent, £1 6*s.* 8*d.* Her Majesty enjoins that all the lands shall be exempt from Irish exactions and illegitimate customs, that is to say, coyne, livery, bonaght, kindaffe or black rent, sorren, quiddye, kearantighe, mustrom, and other similar illegal customs."

A condition, however, in the way of exception of any lands which had formed part of the estate of the dissolved [? monastery] of Termon Magrath, was annexed, which appears to have had the effect of rendering this grant void; for an inquisition, 3 Jac. i (Donegal),[1] found that the lands had belonged to the dissolved [ ], and were therefore vested in the King.

Leaving the lands for the present, I now come to the personal history of Miler Magrath, above alluded to; who united in himself the characters of Irish chieftain with that of first a Roman and then a Protestant bishop.

Miler, the son of Donagh, otherwise Gillagmana Magrath, was at first a Franciscan friar. He was appointed to the bishopric of Down by the Pope, 12 October, 1565, and was consecrated for it at Rome, at the private charge of the Pope.[2] He conformed at Drogheda,[3] 31 May, 1567, and accepted that of Clogher on 18 September, 1570, from Queen Elizabeth, thus acknowledging the royal supremacy—whether he had changed his doctrinal views, except nominally, is another matter—and on 3 February, 1570, he was advanced to the Archbishopric of Cashel,[4] which he held until his death in 1622, when tradition has it he was all but a centenarian. In the funeral entries in the Office of Arms at Dublin Castle, we find in vol. v, page 11, as follows: "The Right Reverend Father-in-God, Milerius Magrath, Lord-Archbishop of Cashel, deceased the 14th Nov., 1622. He had to wife Amy, daughter of John O'Mare

[1] See *Ultonia.*

[2] On his monument, erected during his lifetime in Cashel Cathedral, he calls himself Bishop of Down. Ware doubted whether he ever received the temporalities of Down or Connor. In the Barberini records at Rome this is duly set out.

[3] Canon O'Connor, page 130.

[4] Clogher either remained vacant till Bishop Montgomery was appointed to it by James I. in 1605, or Magrath continued to hold it for some time.

of Lysanysge, in the county of Tipperary, by whom he had issue, Turlough, Redmond, Brian, Markes, James, Mary, Anne, Elizabeth, and Elis" [? Alice: also from another funeral entry, apparently another daughter named Giles].

The only contemporary allusion in the State Papers to Miler Magrath, in his spiritual capacity as a bishop, which I have met with, is with regard to one Teig O'Corkran, who was examined at the camp before Devenish, by the Lord-Deputy Chichester and Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, in the matter of Cuconagh Maguire, 11 August, 1606. The examinate "confesseth that he hath received [Holy] Orders of Deacon from the Bishop of Cashell, and that he lately went to Multifernan, to the supposed Bishop Bradie, by whom he confesseth he was reconciled, and received absolution." O'Corkran made a second confession on the same day before the Lord-Deputy and "Mark Cashell" [which I take to have been a copyist's error for the name "Milerius," of the Archbishop, who appears to have been in Ulster about that time on his private affairs]. To this confession a note is appended that O'Corkran was servant to the Archbishop of Cashel, who had lent his services to Maguire, "the said Maguire having great use of his pen, and of his English tongue for certain business he pretended to have with him the Deputy; and is a foster-brother of the said Maguire, as he saith."

In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls,[1] we find the following under date 1582:

"Elizabeth R.

(7) "The Queen to the Lord Grey, Lord-Deputy, granting to Milerus Magrath, Archbishop of Cashell, in commendam, the revenue of the temporalities and spiritualities of the Sees of Lismore and Waterford. Nov. 1. 24° [of the Queen's reign]."

Again we find (Elizabeth, No. 8):[2]

"The Queen to the Lord-Deputy and the Chancellor: 'We in the 24th of our reign, granted unto Milerus, Archbishop of Cashell, in commendam, by reason of his poverty, all the profits as well spiritual as temporal belonging to the Bishoprics of Waterford and Lismore then void, to hold the same during our pleasure, until he might be better provided for, in the maintenance of his estate; but after that time, upon suggestion made to us, that the Bishoprics of Limerick and Waterford were void, we named one Thomas Wetherhead to be Bishop of these Sees, whereby our former grant in commendam was disannulled, and the Archbishop deprived of any recompence to maintain his estate according to the meaning of our former grant; now understanding that those sees are void by the death of Wetherhead, we are pleased to make a new grant of the sees of Waterford and Lismore, with all the profits and jurisdictions, both spiritual and temporal, to Milerus, Archbishop of Cashell, to hold for life.'"

The Lord-Deputy is enjoined in all cases requisite, to give him his best assistance for the recovery of anything that may have been

[1] Elizabeth, 24°, page 33. [2] *Ibid.*, 34°, page 244.

unlawfully detained from those Sees. Dated at the Manor of Hanworth, 9 August, 1592: 34° [of the Queen's reign].

The royal bounty, however, did not end there;[1] for on 8 October, 1597, there was a grant (dated from Dublin) to Miler Magrath, of the site, circuit, and precinct of the late priory and religious house of Thome, in the county of Tipperary: "a butt" of a ruined castle, with certain ruined chambers thatched; 150 acres arable and 300 pasture in the town and village of Thome; and 150 acres arable and 40 acres pasture in Aughnameall; the rectory, parsonage, and tithes of Aughnameall, Park Valley, Envyne, Killyerteragh, Ballyboy, and Aghincorr, in Elye; and all the lands, messuages, and tenements to the said rectory or parsonage appertaining, parcel of the possessions of the priory or house of Thome, in the county of Tipperary; excepting all woods, underwoods, and mines, found or hereafter to be found upon the premises; and the tithes and altarages due to the vicar or curate of the parsonage of Aughnameall. To hold for 31 years. Rent, £11 11*s.* 4*d.*

The second grant of the emoluments of the Sees of Waterford and Lismore proved to be only temporary; for on 23 January, 1610,[2] the Archbishop, who must then have been not far from a nonogenarian, writing from Cashel to Sir Thomas Ridgeway [afterward Earl of Londonderry],

"Prays that he will procure for him the Bishopric of Killala and Achonry, for which he had resigned Waterford and Lismore, under promise of the Lord-Deputy and Council—sets forth his hard case."

Miler Magrath's character does not appear to have stood high with the statesmen and public men of King James's time.[3] Chief-Justice Saxey, writing in 1604 to Viscount Cranbourne, a memorandum headed "A discoverie of the decayed state of the Kingdom of Ireland, and of means to repower the same," observes *inter alia*, that he has had ten years' experience as Chief-Justice of Munster, . . . and he goes on to say that "the two principal pillars of every commonwealth, religion and justice, are in great disgrace in that Kingdom, like to work the imminent ruin thereof. Religion standing in doctrine and discipline faileth in the Bishops themselves, who are not after the order of Aaron, bearing on their breast Urim and Thummin; but as the priests of Jeroboam, taken out of the basest of the people, more fit to sacrifice to a calf, than to intermeddle with the religion of God. The chiefest of them [Miles Magrath or Mac Cragh], an Irishman,

[1] Elizabeth, 39°, page 460. [2] Cal. S.P., 1610 (No. 583).
[3] Cal. S.P., Jac. i, 1603–6, pages 217, 218 (No. 397).

sometime a Friar, is Archbishop of Cashell, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and Bishop of Kelly." A footnote says, "Perhaps Killala, although it was not until 1707 that he obtained the commendam of the See of Achonry." But "Kelly" is clearly a misreading of "Emly." It was (as now) certainly united to Cashel in the time of Magrath's successor, Malcolm Hamilton, and probably was so before.

(To be continued.)

The Free Schools of Ulster in 1673.

From a M.S. in the British Museum; Sloane, No. 202.

CONTRIBUTED BY JAMES BUCKLEY.

An Account of the Publique Schooles within the Province of Ulster.

Diocesses.

MEATH.

THERE is a free-schoole for the Diocesse of Meath with a salary according to the Act from the Bishop, Clergy and Impropriators of about 40£ ℔ ann, of which but few of the Impropriators pay any thing which neglect tends to the disencouragemt of the schoolmaster.

This School hath been hitherto setled at Trim but without any publique place or schoolhouse there, the providing whereof (if at the charge of the schoolmaster) would render his salary lesse considerable.

The County of Westmeath, which is part of the Diocesse of Meath, complains of their want of a publick schoole within that county & part of the Diocesse; touching which (as I am informed) severall presentm^ts^ have been made by the Grand Jury of the said County to the Judges of Assize, they offering to build a schoole house att Mullingarre (the shire toune for that County) if the freeschoole might be there setled: Whereas the County of Meath hath been backward in building a house for the Schoolmaster att Trim, for that part of the Diocesse: And I understand that the Bishop & Clergy are contented there may be two schooles within the Diocesse, att the charge allowable by the Act of Parliam^t^, if soe be that Mullingarre will build a school-house & accept of that part of the salary which the Impropriators are to pay,

the Bishop & Clergy paying to that of Trim, if that County please to build a schoolhouse there, otherwise it is desired it may continue as it is.

I find there is also about 200 acres of land, or more, sett out about Bannagher att ffortfalkland in the Kings County within the Diocesse of Meath, which land is diverted to the maintenance of a schoole in the towne of Bir or Parsonstowne within the Diocesse of Killaloe, about five miles from Bannagher: and whereas there is great want of a schoole in that part of the Diocesse of Meath, that being farre from Mullingarre or Trim, It is desired according to his Maties Royall intention for the endowing a schoole att Bannagher or thereabouts in the Diocesse of Meath, that the land allotted for it may be disposed for that use onely within the said Diocesse: The Diocesse of Killaloe being left to that provision for a freeschoole by the Bishop, Clergy & others as is by the Act appointed.

KILMORE. In the Diocesse of Kilmore at Cavan there is a free-schoole of King James his foundation endowed with lands to the value of 40£ ℔. ann., whereof James Sheridan is schoolmaster, who is not resident, but hath been long in England, so that the Schoole is onely supplyed by James Maxwell the Usher, who (as I am informd) is insufficient, for the place.

ARDAGH. In the Diocesse of Ardagh in the Corporacon of St Johnstown there is a schoole endowed with lands worth foure pounds ℔. ann. whereof Nicholas ffagan is Master.

There is also in the same Diocesse a freeschoole at Jamestown in the County of Leytrim endowed with lands whereof William Hall is Schoolmaster.

CLOGHER. In the Diocesse of Clogher there is a free schoole at Eniskellin, endowed with lands to the yearely value of 120£ ℔. ann. whereof Mr Thomas Dunbarre is Master.

RAPHOE. In the Diocesse of Raphoe there is a free-schoole endowed with lands to the value of 45£ ℔. ann. whereof Mr Richard Ayton is Master, who teaches & resides in Raphoe, but there is noe publicke schoole-house built there or elsewhere in that Diocesse.

DERRY. In the Diocesse of Derry att Lifford there is a freeschoole which was heretofore endowed by the Hanzards with 50£ yearely in lands, viz 30£ for the Master & 20£ for the Usher whereof Mr Shortall is now Master.

There is a schoolehouse erected att Derry & a Schoolmaster placed there, which is intended to be endowed by the Society of London.

I finde likewise a complaint that there is a schoole at Strebane taught by a ffanaticke person, which tends to the further perverting of the people.

DOUNE & CONNOR. In the Diocesses of Doune & Connor there is a ffreeschoole att Belfast endowed with 40£ yearely by the Earl of Donnegall, as also a faire schoolhouse, Mr Edward ffisher Master.

There is also a freeschoole at Lisburne well endowed by my Lord Conway.

There is also a free schoole setled at Carickfergus which is maintained by the Bishop, Clergy &c. according to the Statute of the 12th of Elizabeth, the towne adding 20£ a yeare thereunto, whereof William Henry is Master.

There is also a free schoole at Downe Patricke maintained in like manner by the Bishop, Clergy &c according to the said Act.

DROMORE. The Diocesse of Dromore is a very small Diocesse taken out of the Counties of Armagh & Downe, wherein I finde there is noe publicke freeschool, nor noe complaint of the want of one.

ARMAGH. In the Diocesse of Armagh there is one ffreeschoole at Dunganon endowed with lands to the value of 60£ ℔. annm, whereof Mr ffrancis ffletcher is master, where there is also a good schoolhouse.

There is also in the said Diocesse a freeschoole at Armagh endowed with lands to the value of 40£ ℔. annm, and a good schoolhouse there: Mr Thomas Mabb is Master.

There is also a freeschool setled at Tredagh[1] endowed by Alderman Erasmus Smyth; but is not fully compleated.

This is the best account I can certainely give of the severall Schooles abovesaid pursuant unto your Excies command unto

Your most humble & obedient Servant

JA. ARMACHANUS.[2]

28th Aug. 1673.

[1] Drogheda.

[2] James Margetson, Primate, 1663–1678.

TO RULE THE NORTH:

Being a History of the Fort of Blackwater in Ulster,

SOMETIME CALLED PORTMORE.

By John J. Marshall.

(Continued from page 17.)

TYRONE levelled the defences of the fort after the victory of the Yellow ford, and for the next two years was virtually king of Ireland, so that when Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, landed in Ireland, he found Elizabeth's authority reduced to the merest shadow. The new Lord-Deputy set to work restoring English law and order, and, as the surest method of curbing O'Neill, garrisons were to be planted anew in Ulster; and Sir Henry Dowcra, with a force of 4,000 foot and 200 horse, landed at Culmore for the purpose of establishing a fortress on the shores of Lough Foyle. To create a diversion and prevent Tyrone attacking Dowcra in force Mountjoy advanced northward as far as Newry, which caused O'Neill to return, fearing an invasion of Tyrone by the Deputy. The new ruler and commander of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, if not a great warrior or brilliant strategist, was both energetic and prudent. In caution he was not surpassed by O'Neill himself, and profited from the misfortunes of his predecessors in avoiding their errors. In pursuance of this policy he cleared the Moyry pass and established a post there, also another which he named Mountnorris. Then he placed a garrison of 750 foot and 100 horse in Armagh, under Sir Henry Danvers. His plan is outlined in a note of the "Disposal of the Queen's forces for this summer's [1601] service. . . . To plant at Armagh and at the Blackwater, to make a little loop skonce between them both, to see great store of hay made in time for horses at Armagh and Mountnorris against winter, to lie all the summer close to Tyrone and perchance carry the army into his country."[1]

1600. 26 February.

1600. 16 May.

1601. June.

"The army under the Lord-Deputy [Mountjoy] marched in the early morning to Armagh, and there resting some hours, marched after dinner a mile and a half beyond Armagh, and there upon an hill encamped."

1601. 12 July.

[1] *Cal. Car. MSS.*

1601. 13 July. The following day Mountjoy marched his army another mile and a half to a hill, where he made a stand, Tyrone with his horse and foot showing themselves out of a wood beyond a meadow, on the other (Tyrone) side of the river, ostentatiously making a show with drums and trumpets, and a display of colours, some of which were those captured at the Yellow ford. They did not venture to attack, but, from the trenches which they had on their side of the river, fired some volleys of shot, which from the distance fell short, and did small damage. Some shot from a couple of small cannon (a Rabinet and a Falcon), which Mountjoy had with him, caused them to withdraw to the shelter of the woods. The Lord-Deputy sent 300 foot to occupy another hill adjoining the old fort lying beyond the water, and followed with his staff to view the position. Fynes Moryson, his secretary and chronicler, says, "in the way myself and some others lighted in a valley to refresh ourselves by walking, but found the enemy's soil no place for recreation, for out of the ditches and furrows many shot were made at us, whereupon we took to our horses," the worthy chronicler's labours being well nigh cut short by a shot which passed between his legs while he had one foot in the stirrup. This warm reception caused them to return hastily to the main body of the army, instead of following the Lord-Deputy to the more advanced position. In the evening Tyrone drew some horse over to their side of the river—it was supposed either to assail Turlough MacHenry of the Fews, who had submitted and was attending Mountjoy on this expedition, or to confer with him for the purpose of inducing him to return to his allegiance under O'Neill. Upon Sir William Godolphin, who commanded the Deputy's troop of horse, being sent towards him, he retired. That night the soldiers were employed making gabions to enter the enemy's trenches, and the Rabinet and Falcon were sent forward to the other hill. The rebels kept up a continual firing upon the camp all night; but at daybreak, upon the two cannon loaded with musket balls being fired at them, and some three volleys of small shot, they quitted their trenches and retired to the woods, whereupon Mountjoy's 300 men, who were under the command of Captain Williams, passed over the river and took possession of the trenches and the old ruined fort, which stood in a clearing, the surrounding woods being about a musket-shot distant. The Lord-Deputy then sent forward a regiment across the river, to second Captain Williams. They found the fords on the river strongly and artificially fortified, and they might easily have been held against the English army. As it

1601. 14 July.

was, the success was gained with a loss of two slain and twenty wounded, and it was surmised that the Irish had lost a greater number. There was some skirmishing with the enemy, and in the evening two more companies arrived from Lecale, where Magennis had been forced to submit. 1601. 15 July.

A regiment of Irish under Sir Christopher St. Lawrence marched to Benburb, "the old house of Shane O'Neill," at the entrance of great woods. They made a stand in a "fair green meadow, having the camp and the plains behind them, and the woods on both sides and before them." They were promptly attacked by Tyrone, and the action lasted three hours, all the available men on either side being finally drawn into the fray. Of the English, Dr. Latwar, the Lord-Deputy's chaplain, who, not content with viewing the fight from a distance, had passed into the meadow where the colours stood, was mortally wounded,[1] and Captain Thomas Williams had his leg broken; but of the Irish fighting under England's banner, twenty-six were slain and seventy-five wounded. With regard to the latter, Moryson remarks that they had been rebels, and upon the least discontent were likely to turn rebels again, so that the death of these unpeaceable swordsmen was a gain rather than a loss to the commonwealth. 1601. 16 July.

Amongst the rebels it was reported that Tyrone's secretary, one chief man of the Hagans, and far more than 200 kerne were slain; and Moryson attributes this to their having a plentiful supply of powder, which, being a scarce commodity with O'Neill's men, could only be used sparingly. There can be no doubt that this estimate of Tyrone's losses was very much in excess of the actual casualties, which probably did not very much exceed those of the Queen's troops.

These two days the pioneers were busied in fortifying and building a new fort at the Blackwater, not far distant from the old fort, which had been demolished by O'Neill; and in order to expedite the work as much as possible, many of the soldiers "were extraordinarily hired to work therein as pioneers." 1601. 17 & 18 July.

The Lord-Deputy reported to the Lords in England that Tyrone lay with all his forces to hinder him from passing to Dungannon, and that he was destroying great quantities of corn, this course causing famine, which was the only sure way to reduce or root out the rebels. 1601. 19 July.

A demonstration was made to provoke the rebels, by Mountjoy sending two regiments to fetch material for the building of the fort, as well as to cut down some corn lying on the skirt of the woods. There 1601. 20 July.

[1] This recalls the fate of the Rev. George Walker at the Boyne.

was some more corn in the vicinity destroyed on the 22nd, except that which was sufficiently near for the soldiers to reap.

1601. 23 July. Captain Thomas Williams, who had so valiantly defended the former fort, was fittingly placed in charge of the new fort, the army being drawn out and marched "two little miles south-westward" to Henry Oge's country, where they cut down corn on every side.[1] At the rising of the army, a proclamation was made offering £2,000 to anyone who would bring Tyrone in alive, and £1,000 to anyone who would bring in his head. This was done not so much in the hope of the reward being earned—for of this there was not the most remote chance—but as a counterblast against O'Neill's assertion that his pardon was offered to him, and that he might have it at pleasure. The army continued cutting down corn with their swords for several days, until there arrived two convoys of victuals from Newry for the fort. As a protection to the convoys—for O'Neill's men hung upon the skirts of the army during these operations, and harassed them continually—three regiments were sent out to afford them protection.

1601. 28 July.

1601. 29 July. Having seen the victuals safely deposited in the fort, on the next day the Lord-Deputy marched past the fort on the Armagh side of the river, some three miles farther on, and "encamped close upon the bogs and fastnesses [or fortified passages in the wood]." Mountjoy encamped here for several days examining the country, Tyrone's men lying entrenched on the opposite side of the river, from which they fired some volleys of shot on the Deputy's troops. They only succeeded in wounding one man, but three trumpeters in Tyrone's pay deserted to the English camp. Wood was cut down to clear a passage over the Blackwater at the place, and while this was going on, the Irish attempted to cut off a guard stationed on a remote hill[2] to second the workmen, but were beaten off. At the same time the horses belonging to Mountjoy's army being frightened with the skirmish, and with numbers of horsemen hurrying out in answer to the alarm, broke their headstalls and ran back to Armagh, and some of the best as far as Newry, but the soldiers followed and were successful in recovering them all. Had O'Neill's men taken advantage of this accident and caught the horses themselves, or attacked the English soldiers when

[1] This would barely bring them to the borders of Henry Oge's country, which was about five miles distant from the fort. However, if the chronicler is not very exact in his distances, it is likely that the corn was destroyed all the same, and this may have been a strong argument in inducing Henry Oge to follow the example already set by Turlough MacHenry of the Fews, by going over to the Government side, which he did either towards the end of 1601 or the following summer, both he and Cormac MacBaron.—See Mountjoy to Privy Council, August, 1602. *Cal. Car. MSS.*

[2] Probably Legar Hill, overlooking Charlemont, on the site of which Mountjoy had pitched his camp.

loosely following them, Mountjoy's expedition might have turned out as disastrously as Bagenal's "journey to the Blackwater."

The army returned to Armagh on their way homewards. It had been Mountjoy's intention to seize Dungannon, and prosecute a vigorous winter campaign, but the Spaniards' descent on Munster necessarily changed his plans, and O'Neill, although bridled by fortresses, still held Mid Ulster in unbroken strength. Tyrone also marched southward early in November to the succour of his allies, and the defeat which he and Red Hugh O'Donnell received in their attack upon the English camp, principally at the hands of Clanrickard and his Connaughtmen, was but the beginning of the end. O'Donnell sailed to seek help from Spain, but to drink the assassin's poisoned cup, while O'Neill journeyed back northward harassed at every step by active foes, his prestige lowered by defeat. 1601. 2 August.

Thus it was that, when Mountjoy marched Ulsterward the following summer, Tyrone offered no effective resistance. The Lord-Deputy proceeded to the place which he had discovered the previous summer, and which at that time he had partly cleared in view of future operations. The value of this position was that it commanded a passage into the heart of Tyrone, hitherto inaccessible, the way lying through an open plain, free from those dangerous passes, woods, and bogs, in which English armies had so often met disaster. When O'Neill found Mountjoy erecting a fort in this position, he burned Dungannon, and retired to his last and most inaccessible fastness of Glenconkeine. 1602. June.

The Deputy, being joined by Sir Henry Dowcra and Sir Arthur Chichester, erected another stronghold which he named Mountjoy, and the new fort on the Blackwater he named Charlemont. He then proceeded to capture the enemy's islands and smaller strongholds, and ravage the country: in his own words, "we do now continually hunt all their woods, spoil their corn, burn their houses, and kill so many churls, as it grieves me to think it is necessary to do it." Comment on such a passage would be superfluous. The vigorous prosecution of the war by Mountjoy, and the establishment of a circle of forts, compelled Tyrone to submit towards the end of 1602, and it would seem that the garrison had been withdrawn from the Blackwater fort soon after the establishment of Charlemont, whose more advantageous position rendered the former unnecessary. The provisional pardon granted to O'Neill by Elizabeth was confirmed by James I. upon his accession, and it was not long after until Tyrone drew the King's 1602. 11 July.

attention to a mistake made by which the 240 acres lying round the Blackwater fort was reserved to the Government. The King therefore wrote to Mountjoy—who for his services had been created Earl of Devonshire, and advanced to the higher position of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with a Deputy under him to attend to the routine work of administration—to the effect that the exception of 240 acres at the Blackwater was a mistake in the penning of the "book"[1] at that point, for the King's meaning was that they should be restored to him in recompense of the 600 acres for the other two forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy. "They are therefore to be passed to the Earl, for such estate as has been granted to him of the rest of the lands."[2]

Sir Thomas Williams, who made such an heroic defence of the Blackwater fort, was, after his second period of governorship (1601-2), lying at Armagh, 1 October, 1604, in command of 100 foot; and upon the order of his discharge, which is dated 15 July, 1605, is entered as having 100 footmen at Lough Foyle. Upon the disbanding of his company, he was allowed 6*s.* per day over and above the 4*s.* per day set down for a captain by the King's establishment, in respect of his many hurts and weaknesses. It is very doubtful if he ever got the additional grant confirmed, as in 1606 he was returned amongst the captains allowed 4*s.* per day. He had also to petition for £748 of arrears of pay due to him, besides fourteen months' not accounted for. This large accumulation of arrears was due to his being placed in outlying garrisons, where it was not possible to receive his pay regularly, and he had also to victual the soldiers sometimes out of his own resources.

1609. Upon the plantation of Ulster he was a petitioner for some certain proportion of land. The Lords of the Council were willing to gratify him, but did not wish to interfere; they therefore recommended him to the favourable consideration of Chichester. In 1610 he is entered amongst a list of "Servitors not in pay and willing to Undertake" as "Sir Thomas Williams, part of Orier, or of O'Neillan,"[3] and this is the last notice we have of the gallant veteran who so heroically defended the Blackwater fort.

1609. August. While the petition of Williams for a grant of forfeited lands was under consideration, Henry Pepwell writes to Salisbury: "He has observed that the Blackwater, which was so worthily defended by Sir Thomas Williams, and cost so many gallant men's lives, is now

[1] This term was applied in the despatches of the period to documents, whether they contained only two pages or two hundred.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I. Ercks Cal.*, p. 25. [3] *Cal. S.P.I.*

inhabited by three especial ministers[1] of Tyrone, two of them dwelling in the late fort, one called Sheale, the other Murto O'Kiron [Murtagh O'Kieran], and just on the other side of the water Bartholomew Owen, who spare not to openly commend the actions of Tyrone, the habitation being for honester men." [2]

This was the end of Blackwater fort; its ruins a refuge for outlaws and political plotters, while the great Earl who had withstood England for years was now an exile in Rome. The long struggle was at length decided as to which race was TO RULE THE NORTH.

Balteagh Yeomanry, 1809.

BY E. M. F.-G. BOYLE.

BALTEAGH is the name of a parish of some 10,410 acres in extent, comprising 28 townlands, in the neighbourhood of Limavady. It belonged almost exclusively to the Marquis of Waterford. The following is a copy of the establishment of the corps:

DUBLIN CASTLE,
25th November, 1809.

SIR,

I am commanded by the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you that His Grace has been pleased to fix the Establishment of the Balteagh Corps of Infantry under your Command, at the Numbers stated in the margin. Instructions have been issued, accordingly, to the respective Officers of the Ordnance.

ESTABLISHMENT.

Permanent Serjeant... ...	1
Serjeants	5
Trumpeter or Drummer ...	1
Mounted Men	–
Dismounted Men or Infantry	100
Total,	107

I have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your Most obedient
Humble Servant,
E. B. LITEHOLES.

To
Captain McCausland,
Balteagh Infantry.

Captain McCausland does not seem to have remained long in command, as the following letter, written by Henry de la Poer, second Marquis of Waterford, shows:

DUBLIN,
March 17th, 1810.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased to approve of my recommendation of you to be Captain of the Balteagh Corps, and Mr. Garraway 1st

[1] Political emissaries. [2] *Cal. S.P.I.*

Lieutenant, and Mr. Ross the 2nd Lieutenant, and you may expect your Commission in a few days. To Mr. Meara I will give your letter as soon as I see him, which will be this evening. Present my Compliments to your Father, and

Believe me,
Yours truly,
WATERFORD.

John Boyle, Esq.,
N. Limavady.

The next letter encloses a remittance for payment of the corps.

DUBLIN,
25th July, 1810.

SIR,

We have the honour to transmit to you herewith, in pursuance of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Orders, the sum of £36 : 11 : 8, on account of pay for the Corps under your command, for the period specified in the enclosed Certificate, which you will be pleased to perfect and return, with as little delay as possible, as, in the event of your acknowledgment not arriving in due course, payment of the remittance will, to avoid accidents, be stopped.

As we apprehend that much delay and inconvenience must arise to the service from representations being made to us, relative to Arrears of Pay, &c., due to the Yeomanry, and on several other subjects not connected with our situation, we beg leave to acquaint you that the General Agents are not authorised to decide on these points, and are therefore of necessity obliged to refer them to the Military Department, as well as all application for Returns; and that the Correspondence of Commanding Officers of Corps with them should be confined to acknowledging Remittances and transmitting Certificates for the same, under cover, to the SECRETARY AT WAR, DUBLIN CASTLE.

We have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble Servants,
E. CANE AND SONS.

To Captain Boyle,
Officer Commanding
Balteagh Infantry,
N. T. Limavady.

And the following is also a similar letter to Captain Boyle, the officer commanding:

DAWSON STREET,
14th November, 1812.

SIR,

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the sum of £28 : 5 : 8, on account of Pay for the Corps under your Command, for the period specified in the enclosed Receipt, which you will be pleased to perfect, and return under cover to the FIRST AND PRINCIPAL CLERK, MILITARY DEPARTMENT, DUBLIN CASTLE, WITH THE WORDS "YEOMANRY AGENT" on the left corner of the cover.

Orders having been issued to the several Post-Masters, by the Post-Master General, desiring them to give a Docket of delivery with each of my letters to Commanding Officers of Yeomanry Corps, with a view of preventing Fraud, by these letters falling into improper hands, it is necessary that these Dockets should accompany your Receipts, to shew the due delivery of the Letters, as if they do not, the Counterparts of the Bank Notes in my possession cannot be forwarded.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant,
RICHARD CANE.

To Captain Boyle,
Officer Commanding
Balteagh Infantry,
N. T. Limavady.

The Marquis of Waterford, fifteen months later, writes as to the augmentation of the corps:

WATERFORD,
February 14th, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your letter, I think it incumbent on every loyal man to step forward in times like the present in support of the Constitution, and therefore I approve that our Corps, with the concurrence of the Government, should be augmented, and request that you will make the necessary application for that purpose. My Tenantry, I am proud to say, can soon make up the number required, and I wish them all to be under your immediate Command; and as it may be pleasant to you, and of advantage to the Tenantry and Corps, in the case of emergency to be commanded by their own Officer, and not dependent on another Magistrate, I have desired that a Commission of the Peace may be immediately sent down to you. Pray present my best regards to your worthy father, and Believe me,

Dear Sir,
Yours truly,
WATERFORD.

John Boyle, Esq.,
Newtownlimavady.

A number of the old flint locks with bayonets used by the corps are still to be found in farmhouses and elsewhere in the parish and neighbourhood.

The regimental buttons were of silver, with a crowned harp surrounded by the words "Balteagh Infantry." The uniform was scarlet, with yellow facings. The officers' jackets had also silver lace.

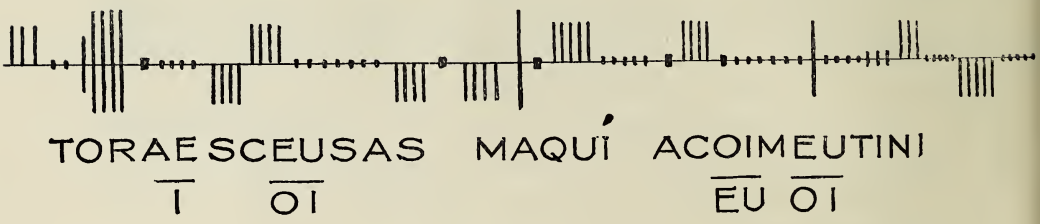
My great-uncle's (Captain John Boyle, who commanded the corps) jacket has been destroyed by moths and damp; but I have his sword, a number of the buttons, and several of the guns and bayonets belonging to the corps.

Further Notes about the Connor Ogams.

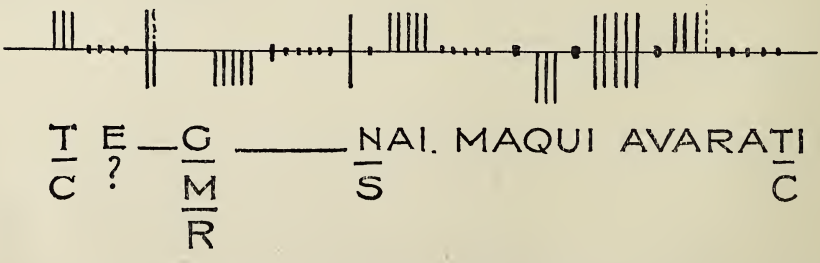
By the Rev. W. P. Carmody, b.a., Rector of Connor.

When I first made known to the readers of this Journal, more than four years ago, my discovery of two ogams in the parish of Connor, I stated that I was sure it would be a matter of interest to antiquarians. I am glad to say that the interest has been more than I expected. I also promised then, that, at some future time, I would try to elucidate further the meaning and historic value of the inscriptions. In fulfilment of that promise, I shall now give an account of what has been done since; and also give a *résumé* of the conclusion arrived at. In the article referred to above, contributed by me to this Journal, vol. v, part 1, I gave Rev. Dr. Buick's readings as follow:

No. 1.

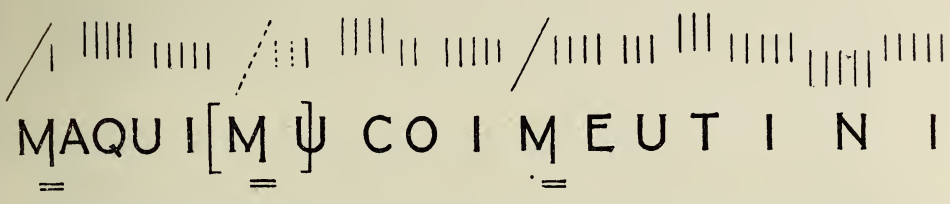


No. 2.



It must be remembered that when these readings were published the stones were still in their original position in the roof of the cave, and that to make a copy of them was a matter of great difficulty, owing to the quantity of water in the cave and the absence of good light. Subsequently, in the Journal of the R.I.A., part 4, vol. viii, the Rev. Dr. Buick published a paper giving these readings, and also describing the souterrains in which they were found, and the difficulties

to be overcome before the legends could be deciphered. The next article on the subject appeared in the same Journal, vol. v, part 2, and was written by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.; and though at the time he had not seen the stones, yet in a moment of inspiration he said that the latter portion of No. 1 legend, which had hitherto been doubtful, should be read



and a further and more complete investigation confirmed this conjecture of his.

When the attention of the Royal Irish Academy was drawn to the existence of these ogams, they very generously gave a grant of money to meet the expenses of a thorough investigation; and a committee was appointed to take charge of the work and draw up a report. Accordingly, on 29 June, 1899 (the day appointed), the Rev. Dr. Buick, Principal Rhys, Robert Cochrane, P. M. C. Kermode, S. F. Kirker, and myself met at the site of the ogams in Carncomb, and, aided by the farmer on whose land they were found and three or four labourers, we had the soil removed from the top of the cave, and the two ogam stones, which were two of the rafters, removed from their places and turned up to the light. This, of course, gave more favourable conditions for a complete examination.

Those members who had not seen the stone before were quite satisfied, after a diligent examination, that in the case of No. 1 stone the correct reading was that of the Rev. Dr. Buick, with Robert Cochrane's emendation.

Professor Rhys in his report says that he thinks *Toraesceusas* is not a personal name, but two words—*Toraes Ceusas*. *Toraes*, he suggests, is *turris*, and renders the whole into Latin—*Monumentum Ceusis, filii Generis, Meutini*; and he gives three references from *The Book of Leinster* where *Cew* occurs as a personal name. We also find the name Meuthi—from which he derives Meutini—in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*. He also gives an alternative reading—*Tumulus Esceusis filii Generis Meutini*—and concludes by observing that at present "it is useless to guess the age of the inscription: it looks to me as though it might be one of the earliest we have."

The investigation of No. 2 stone proved more interesting still. The second name was perceived by P. M. C. Kermode to be Volraci. This led to the reading "The monument of the son of Folrach." Now Folrach was the father of the first Bishop of Connor—who is commonly called Mac-Nisse, that being his mother's name. So if that reading be correct, Professor Rhys says "one is at liberty to suppose that the man commemorated in our inscription to have been Mac-Nisse's brother. This would carry with it the approximate date of the inscription; for Mac-Nisse died, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, in the year 500."

After this investigation, No. 1 stone was replaced in the souterrain. A substitute was found for No. 2 stone, which some time afterwards I had conveyed to the Rectory for safety. While there, the Rev. Dr. Buick made several attempts to compel the inscription to unfold itself. The conditions were favourable: the light was good, and the stone was dry now, and could be moved about to examine it under varieties of light and shade. I am fully convinced that no future investigation will yield any result more certain than Dr. Buick's. He concluded that the first part of the inscription, which P. M. C. Kermode had read "Tutanote," was really two words—Cavus Bogi, or Cavus Bode. The former of these two he considers the more probable: and remembering that in Ulster the word "Cavan" is understood to mean a "round dry hill," his final rendering would be "The burial-mound of Bogi, the son of Folrach."

Early in last autumn the No. 2 stone was sent to Dublin to the Royal Irish Academy, and is now in their museum in Kildare Street, under the care of George Coffey.

In conclusion, I have only to say that, if any readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* are surprised at the doubts and difficulties of deciphering these inscriptions, they should, when next in Dublin, go to the Museum, and spend an hour in trying to make an exact copy of the marks on the stone, and they will soon realize the amount of honest labour already bestowed on its elucidation. The stone is naturally somewhat rough; the inscriptions are very slight, such as might be made with a nail. The great difficulty is to see exactly what is there, and to avoid seeing one's preconceived ideas. Possibly more may be written about these ogams, but I doubt very much if any results more certain than those already arrived at will ever be agreed upon.

Ulster Bibliography.

By E. R. McC. Dix.

(Continued from page 43.)

NEWRY PRINTING.

In the number of this Journal for October 1901 (vol. vii, part iv), at page 175, appears a list of Newry-printed publications, contributed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., and which were not in Dr. Crosslé's well-known pamphlet. While waiting for a new and enlarged edition of this pamphlet, or some other book on Newry printing, from Dr. Crosslé—the proper author *par excellence* of such a work—I send particulars of four works printed in Newry, which occur in a volume lent me by my friend, R. R. Belshaw of Dublin. Their record here can be used by Dr. Crosslé later on. I believe the Newry Free Library Committee are always ready to receive donations of Newry-printed books, and have already many; a list of which, if contributed to this Journal by the Honorary Secretary, Samuel Murray, would prove of much interest. I also add here seven from my own collection, from one of which we gain the name and address of a hitherto unknown Newry printer. Dr. Crosslé in his "Address" gave only short titles and dates, but no other bibliographical details. Hence it is to be hoped in his future work on the subject that such will be fully given. The chronological order at first seems also the best to follow. It shows at once the progress, development, or stagnation of the local literary taste.

There are many Newry-printed pamphlets in the splendid Halliday collection in the Royal Irish Academy. Judging from my experience of our *provincial* printing in the eighteenth century, I believe if a list of Newry printing were made out from easily available sources, it would prove to rank next after Belfast and Cork for extent and variety of the output of its press, and to exceed both that of Waterford and of Limerick. It was the second important printing and publishing centre of Ulster, though not, of course, as early in commencing to print as Derry or Armagh.

1770. The Œconomy of Human Life, &c. (*Daniel Carpenter.*) 12mo. 80 pp. In 2 Parts.
[R. R. Belshaw; E. R. McC. Dix.]

N.B.—There is a separate title-page to the 2nd Part.

1783. The Death of Abel in 5 books attempted from the German of Mr. Gessner. 14th Edition. (*D. Carpenter.*) 12mo. 132 pp.
[E. R. McC. Dix.]

1783. The Agreeable Surprise. A Comic Opera in 2 Acts. By Mr. O'Keefe. (*R. Stevenson.*) 12mo. 36 pp.
[E. R. McC. Dix.]

1785. Plain Reasons Why Dr. Watts' Imitation of the Psalms, &c., nor any other human Composition, ought to be in the Praises of the Great God, Our Saviour, &c., &c. With a short Address to Ministers, &c. Thos. Clark, V.D.M. 12mo. 32 pp.
[R. R. Belshaw.]

1786. The Stone Rejected, &c. A Sermon. The Revd. Ebenezer Erskine. 7th Edition. (*D. Carpenter*, Sugar Island.) 12mo. 48 pp.
[R. R. Belshaw.]

N.B.—Has list of works "Lately published by the Printer."

1786. Christ, the People's Covenant. A Sermon. The Revd. R. Erskine. 10th Edition. (*D. Carpenter.*) 12mo. 80 pp.
[R. R. Belshaw.]

1786. A Familiar Exposition of the Church-Catechism in Five Parts, &c., &c. By Isaac Mann, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin, &c. The 5th Edition Improved. (*Daniel Carpenter*, Sugar Island.) 8vo. 48 pp. Paper cover. Sigs. A to C, in eights.
[E. R. McC. Dix.]

1806. A Curious and Instructive Treatise, in two parts. Part I. The Universal Weather Glass, Contains Signs Prognostic of all sorts of changes of the Weather. Part II. Contains a Concise and plain account of the wonders of our Solar System. Also all that has hitherto been discovered of the Fix'd Stars. By a Careful Observer of Nature. (*W. Parks*, Market-street.) 12mo. 72 pp.
[E. R. McC. Dix.]

N.B.—The work is "Dedicated" to the Agricultural Society of the Co. Down.

1833. An Epitome of the Criminal Laws of Ireland. Arranged by Henry Jones, C. C. Constabulary Police. (*Alexr. Peacock*, Telegraph Office.) 8vo. 84 pp.

[E. R. McC. Dix.]

1833. Same. "Subject to Summary Conviction, Acts 9 Geo. IV.," &c. Henry Jones. 8vo. 32 pp. + VIII (Index).

[E. R. McC. Dix].

N.B.—Bound with foregoing item.

1840. Ireland Vindicated from Tyrannical Oppression; the Farmer Advocated, and the People's Rights Defended from onerous taxation, &c., &c. John Jackson. 8vo. 64 pp.

[E. R. McC. Dix.]

N.B.—No printer given.

LONDONDERRY (Supplemental).

Having lately acquired the following pamphlet, I think it well to give a collation of it here. It was mentioned in Article V, p. 133 of volume vii, but was then taken from Professor Witherow's Historical &c. Memorials of Presbyterianism, &c. I can now collate it fully, and we learn the name of *another* Derry printer. Unfortunately it has no cover, and has been much cut down at the top. There is an ornament, like a head or tail piece, on the title-page.

1764. A Sermon Preached from *Rom.* 5c. 7v. Shewing the Differance that is betwixt a *Good Moralist* and a *Godly Man.* By a Lover of Evangelical Truth. (*Isaac Lowry.*) 12mo. Title-leaf and Preface = IX pp. + Sermon and Errata 22 pp. + last page blank.

[E. R. McC. Dix.]

N.B.—There is a slip attached to p. 22 containing an extended Errata larger than that on p. 22.

Parliamentary Memoranda of Bygone Days.

By the Earl of Belmore, G.C.M.G.

(Continued from page 36.)

I NOW pass on to a county election which took place in 1783, when "Grattan's Parliament" began its active existence. This was a moment when those topics which then absorbed so much public interest (such as that of the Volunteers) might have been expected to figure largely in a candidate's address to his constituents. That such was not the case in the county of Fermanagh; but that whether the return of a member of one or another of the leading county families should practically have been thought to be the only matter to be considered, goes far, I think, to prove my contention that, about the same period, a member for the adjoining constituency of County Tyrone was not likely to have been hampered with any pledges to his electors, with regard to which he could have been fairly accused of betraying his trust.

In 1731 Nicholas Montgomery, who had not long before assumed his wife's name of Archdall in lieu of his own, was chosen at a bye-election as one of the members for Fermanagh. This seat was retained in his family down to quite recent times, without any break, in both the Parliaments of Ireland and of the United Kingdom; that is, until the year 1885; the seat having been filled by Nicholas's son, grandson, and two great-grandsons, one of whom, William Mervyn Archdale, was the late owner of Castle Archdale. In the Parliament which began 18 June, 1776, and ended 25 July, 1783, Colonel Mervyn Archdall, the son of Nicholas, was one of the sitting members for Fermanagh. Rumours had been put about that he did not intend to offer himself for re-election; whereupon he issued an address, of which I give a copy, and which, like a further address after the general election, is remarkable for not saying a single word about public matters, notwithstanding the exciting events of that period. The first address appears to be undated. It is as follows:

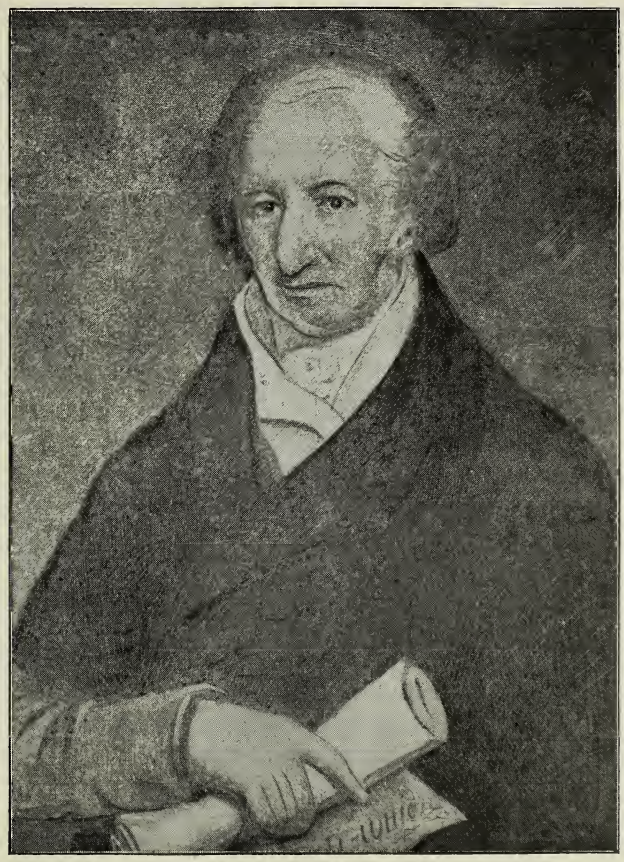
"To the Electors of the County of Fermanagh.

"I hear that it is industriously reported that I do not mean to offer myself to your consideration at the next General Election, because I have not begun to canvass eighteen months before the probable dissolution of this Parliament.

"As I am not conscious that I ever have done, or ever shall do, anything to forfeit your esteem, be assured I will never submit to have the four seats of this independent county monopolized by one family—you have too much spirit to suffer it. I will trust to that, and my past and future conduct, to be my supports on the day of election.

"I am, gentlemen, your obliged and faithful humble servant,

"M. ARCHDALL."



COLONEL MERVYN ARCHDALL, M.P.
From the Original Portrait at Castle Archdale.

After the general election he addressed the constituency again:

"To the real independent Electors of Fermanagh.

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my sincere thanks for the spirited, effectual, and disinterested support you honored me with on the late election of your county. I shall ever endeavour to merit it. The High Sheriff[1] has also my acknowledgements for his impartial conduct during a tedious poll.

"I am, with great esteem, gentlemen, your obliged and faithful servant,

"MERVYN ARCHDALL.

"Enniskillen, Sepr 18, 1783."

[1] John Richardson.

These addresses, issued in an adjoining constituency to that of Tyrone, within three years of the Viceroy's letter recommending A. L. Corry for a peerage, show pretty well that public matters took a very secondary place at that time in deciding on the merits of a candidate.

I may explain the allusion to "a single family" monopolizing the four seats in the county. The two borough seats were practically at the disposal of Lord Enniskillen, although neither immediately before nor after this election were they filled by a Cole. In the Parliament of 1776 the county members were the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Brooke and Colonel Archdall. At the general election the candidates were Colonel Mervyn Archdall, 1,323 votes; Hon. Arthur Cole-Hamilton, 1,287 votes; Colonel William Irvine, 1,229; the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Brooke, Bart., 1,225. Arthur Cole-Hamilton was Lord Enniskillen's brother, and Colonel Irvine (through his first wife) his brother-in-law.

It is but fair to admit that I have some slight evidence that, in the eighteenth century, the electors of Tyrone were not altogether oblivious of public matters; as is shown by the following address, about a generation earlier, from some of them to a borough member in a different part of the county to that in which the signatories lived. In 1753 (as appears from *The Universal Advertizer*, Dublin, 1754) a motion was made in the Irish House of Commons by Colonel Richard Boyle, seconded by John Cole,[1] which was the foundation for the expulsion of A. J. Nevill, late Engineer and Surveyor-General, charging him with contempt in not complying with a resolution of the House. This was carried by a majority of eight votes against the Government. There was a division list annexed[2]; and also a list of another division, headed "Insula sacra et libera," of those "members who voted for and against the altered money bill, which was rejected on Monday, 17 Dec., 1753." The list for the noes was headed "Vindices Libertatis." Subsequently William Hamilton[3] received the following address:

"To William Hamilton, Esq., one of the Representatives of the Borough of Strabane, and one of the Deputy Governors of the County of Tyrone.

"May it please your Honour—We, the undernamed subscribing freeholders of the Manor of Fintona, having a true sense of your constant endeavours to promote the real interest of this kingdom, beg leave to return you our most grateful and sincere thanks for your steadiness in two critical debates this last Session of Parliament; and for your Patriot care and resolution, on every public occasion, so disinterestedly demonstrated. We cannot

[1] Created Lord Mount Florence in 1760.

[2] *Vide* my *Parliamentary Memoirs for Tyrone*, pp. 353 to 358.

[3] *Vide ibid.*, p. 289.

view you in a proper and grateful light without reflecting seriously on our unhappy situation in being deprived, by sickness, of the attendance of our worthy Knight of the Shire, Galbraith Lowry, Esq., of whose candour and patriot worth we are all convinced. We hope, on every occasion which may happen, not only to demonstrate our gratitude and thanks for past services, but likewise to distinguish between the real and pretended Lovers and Friends of this country in particular, and the Kingdom of Ireland in general.

"We are, Sir, your most obedient humble servants,

"CHARLES ECCLES, JOHN KER," &c.

The above was an address from the landlord and tenants of apparently a single estate. Its tone does not indicate that a parliamentary representative was regarded as "a delegate." The allusion to the Knight of the Shire may be explained by the circumstance that he was Charles Eccles's uncle. He was the father of Armar Lowry-Corry, who succeeded him as M.P. for Tyrone in 1769.

I have a few memoranda in an old pocket-book of Galbraith Lowry of 1764, but possibly made at a rather later date, which refer to election matters. They are as follows:

"Gt.—I had treated old Mr Moutray ill, and promised him never to join Stewart. [William Stewart of Killymoon, near Cookstown, was the other county member.] "George Baxter, Hugh Mitchell, men that may be trusted for Mr Stronge."

"Moses Patterson of Cappy in ye town of Carmony, was registered, but died about two years ago, his son who is of ye same name intends to vote on his father's registry.

"James Dudgeon, Wm. Do, John Hardy."

The following, though not formally addressed to him, has a pencil memorandum in G. Lowry-Corry's[1] handwriting:

"Sir,—At your request I have sent you a list of the Freeholders that vote for Mr Knox, there is 95 in this estate, and out of that there is 19 that has promised him. I have given Mr David Richardson a List of the Freeholders' names, and the towns they live in, that is on this estate. I should be glad to know if this Letter goes seafe to your hand.

"I remain, Sir, your obliged friend & very Humble servant,

"DELANEY KINGSTON.

"Fintona, March 12th 1768.

"Sam Crawford, Olifer Crawford, John Crawford, Sam Crawford sen, Alex Cragimiles, William Armstrong & father, John Eweance, Alex M'Kenny, Will: Wilson, Will: Fleming, [Hugh] Carmichael, John Cocks, Joseph Wray, Jo: Orr, John Little, James Hamilton, John Hamilton, John M'Feeters."

I do not remember, when I was compiling the Parliamentary Memoirs for that county, to have found any trace, beyond what is hinted at above, of contested county elections in Tyrone, throughout the whole of the Irish Parliament from 1613 to 1800. Galbraith Lowry-Corry and his colleague, William Stewart, appear to have retired after the dissolution of May 1768. They had both been elected about the same time in 1747-48, and had been colleagues all along.

[1] He had taken the name of Corry in 1764, after the death of Mrs. Leslie Corry.

Their sons, Armar Lowry-Corry and James Stewart,[1] succeeded them in the next Parliament of October 1769. The Mr. Knox alluded to was, I suppose, either Thomas the elder or Thomas the younger, who were the members for Dungannon. The latter was created Baron Wells in 1781 and Viscount Northland in 1791. Mr. Stronge was probably Matthew Stronge, sometime Mayor of Liverpool, and a predecessor of the present Sir James Stronge of Tynan Abbey, County Armagh. Whether or not there was a contest in 1769, I cannot say. A. L. Corry was also returned for Enniskillen, but elected to sit for Tyrone. He had unsuccessfully contested Longford County in 1765 at a bye-election, when the poll stood thus: Hon. Captain Pakenham (elected), 314; Ralph Fetherston (elected), 301; Hugh Maguire, 168; Armar Lowry-Corry, 60. The latter's mother had an estate in this county, and he probably polled her tenants and a few others. Hugh Maguire was (I suppose) Hugh (of Tempo), the High Sheriff for Fermanagh in 1780, the year after A. L. Corry served that office. He must have been a Protestant.

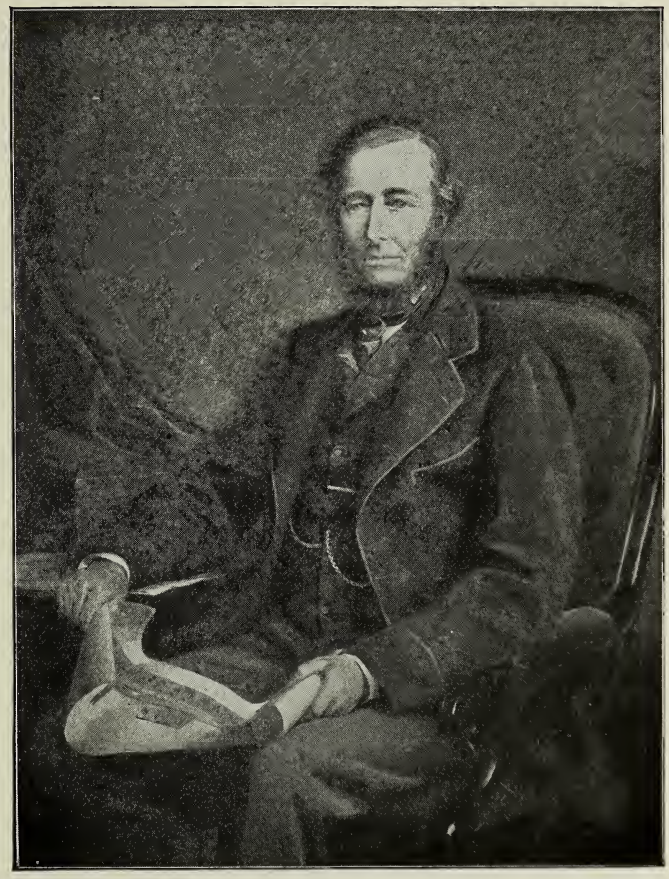
I have now exhausted my memoranda of the Irish Parliament, and proceed to give the gist of some papers relating to what was long known as "the great election" in Tyrone, which came into my hands a few years ago, from a gentleman who was the son of one who had taken an active part in connection with it, on behalf of my late uncle, the Right Hon. Henry Corry. I may say, by way of introduction, that my grandfather had sat for the county from the general election of 1798 until February 1802, when he became Earl of Belmore.[2] In 1825 a bye-election occurred in Tyrone, on the death of Sir John Stewart (once Attorney-General), and on 27 June, my uncle, the Hon. Henry Corry, then in his 23rd year, was elected in his place, and retained his seat until his death, 5 March, 1873; i.e., for nearly 48 years. He became a Privy Councillor as Comptroller of the Household in 1834; and in later years was Junior Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of the Admiralty (twice), Vice-President of the Council, and, finally, First Lord of the Admiralty.

The accession of her late Majesty Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837 necessitated a general election. The sitting members were the late Lord Claud Hamilton and Henry Corry. Lord Claud (then a young man) had been first returned at the general election on 20 Jan., 1835. Another candidate had offered himself in the person of Viscount

[1] James Stewart of Killymoon was probably son of William. He sat for the county until 1812. He voted against the Union.

[2] As a county member, he sat in the Parliament at Westminster in 1801 without re-election.

Alexander, who was, I believe, a guardsman; and he came forward again in 1837. There were thus then three candidates for the two county seats; viz., Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord Alexander, and the Right Hon. Henry Corry.



RIGHT HON. H. CORRY, M.P. (FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY).
From a Portrait in the Courthouse at Omagh.

Unlike the days of 1783, candidates were now expected to make some professions with regard to public matters. Tyrone was then a Tory stronghold, and in practice none but a Tory thought it worth while to offer himself to the constituency. Still the old ideas, to a great extent, prevailed; and, as I said before, no candidate thought of canvassing the tenantry of any particular landlord without his leave.

The question evidently had arisen as to the canvassing of

Lord Belmore's tenants by Lords Claud Hamilton and Alexander, both in 1835, and now again in 1837. Lord Belmore's view in 1837, I gather to have been, that there could be no question as to what course he must pursue, unless both of these candidates, as on the last occasion, concurred in the desire that each of them should be allowed to canvass his tenantry, and that, too, on an undertaking that both of them should give their second votes in his son's support. He had some objection to a canvass even on those terms. But, unless both concurred in this, he thought that it would be a total deviation from neutrality, and inevitably would be so regarded by whichever party desired that in the contest his (Lord Belmore's) tenantry should hold aloof. He had deprecated a canvass of his tenantry by the same candidates at the last election; nor could it then have been pursued, had not both concurred in this condition. Then, indeed, he had felt that it would have been an unconstitutional exercise of power on his part to offer an objection, when thus his son's election had been made secure. But there was no parallel now with the former case. One party he presumed now desired that his tenantry might take no part as between the candidates other than his son; the other desired that he might be allowed to canvass them.

The security which his son had had on the former occasion he could not have now, whilst the opposite parties disagreed; and the only course of neutrality he could adopt, and the only course the better to secure his son's return, was by requesting or recommending his tenantry to plump in the latter's favour. He thought that no reasonable man could say that any other course could be strictly neutral, unless, as upon the last occasion, both parties desired to be permitted to canvass.

Acting upon these principles, the "Friends of Mr. Corry" (which expression I presume meant his committee) addressed a memorandum to Lord Alexander (and no doubt also a similar one to Lord Claud Hamilton) in the following terms:

"The friends of Mr. Corry, from their conviction that Conservative principles are essential in the persons who may represent the county of Tyrone, beg leave to ask Lord Alexander how far he is disposed to satisfy those who may support him, as to his future opinions as to what they consider strictly conservative in the usual and present acceptation of such a declaration. They request his Lordship will have the goodness to state his opinions on those leading subjects which have been uniformly of late supported by Conservatives in Parliament, in opposition to the distinctive measures of the present administration. The friends of Mr. Corry also would feel highly gratified by Ld C. Hamilton and Ld Alexander having such a conference as would enable them to agree on what part Ld Belmore's tenantry should be recommended to take."

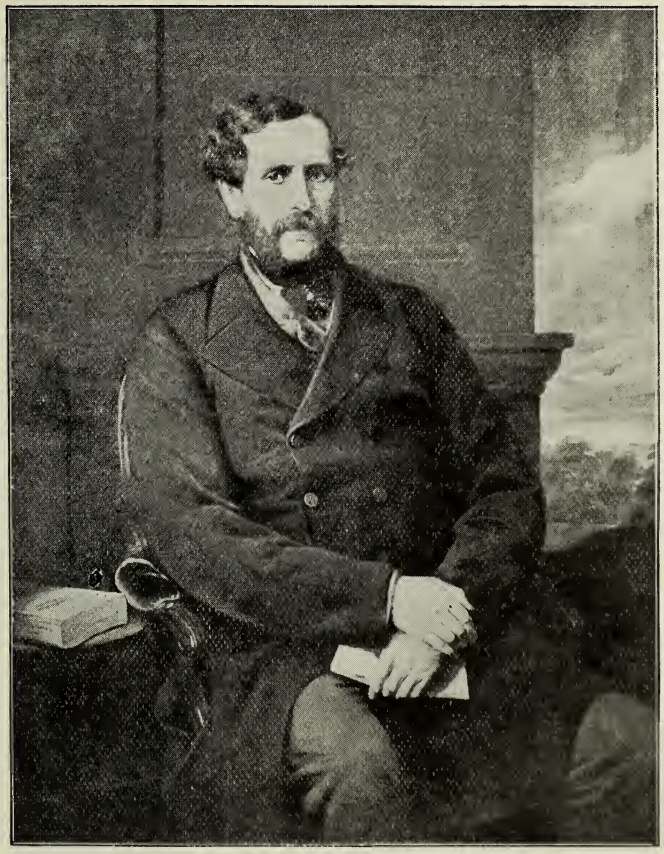
Lord Alexander's reply had the merit of conciseness and the advantage over the preceding paper in lucidity. It was as follows:

"July 15, 1837.

"The friends of Mr. Corry are, I presume, satisfied with the strictly Conservative views of Sir Robert Peel, which have been so often and so ably expressed by him, and should I be returned to Parliament for the county of Tyrone, it is my fixed determination to support those views, particularly as related to the Established Church.

"I decline to hold any conference with Lord Claud Hamilton as to what part Lord Belmore's tenantry should be recommended to take.[1]

Signed "ALEXANDER."



RIGHT HON. LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, M.P. (TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD).
From a Portrait in the Courthouse at Omagh.

Lord Claud Hamilton, in his reply, entered with some fulness into the questions of the day—questions which have been long since settled,

[1] In the original draft, the expression at first was "upon the course which Lord Belmore is requested to take to satisfy my friends, as it has been already communicated to the Hon. Henry Corry." This was altered to "as to what part," etc. The reply is written on the same sheet of paper as the memorandum.

in a different way to that then desired by all the candidates. He wrote as follows:

"Omagh, July 15th, 1837.

"Gentlemen,—Having been called upon by you, as Mr. Corry's friends, to state my views on several political questions, I gladly avail myself of such an opportunity to call your attention to my conduct during the three sessions of Parliament that I have had the honour to be his colleague.

"Having been informed that the four following questions were those about which you were most solicitous, I hasten to give an explicit declaration of my sentiments upon them.

"On the subject of the Irish Church, I have ever most stedfastly opposed every proposition that attempted under any pretence to alienate church property: and every endeavour to smuggle in, under various hopes, what has been termed the appropriation clause, has met with my constant and uncompromising hostility. To such measures I shall always continue to be adverse, because my firm conviction is that to invade the property of the Church, is at once to shake the title to all property, and to break down the power of an institution with which the best interests of society are interwoven.

"The Government measure introduced for the (so-called) Reform of Municipal Corporations in Ireland, was opposed by me on every occasion; as I consider it as clearly intended, not for the benefit of the towns themselves, but for the advantage of a particular political body, and I feel that the transfer of municipal power from its present possessors to the hands of the destructive party in this country, would afford them so fearful an engine for the advancement of their designs, that O'Connell did not overrate its effects when he said, 'Give me this and I will get everything else.'

"The annual grant to Maynooth College I resisted, and such resistance I am prepared to continue, so long as that establishment is conducted on its present system, because in its operation it becomes the nursery of political incendiaries, not of pastors devoted to the pure and peaceful preaching of the Gospel.

"To the present system of National Education my conscience is totally repugnant, as I consider it a vitiated medium of conveying instruction to the poor; and I am firmly persuaded that any system of education which withholds from Christians the right of studying the whole word of God is fundamentally unsound, is an invasion of Man's dearest privileges, and consequently demands from all sincere Protestants the deepest reprobation.

"I need scarcely add that nothing which tends to impair the efficacy of the Church, or lead to its separation from the State, can meet with my support. My earnest endeavour has been, and ever shall be, to maintain it in the most efficient condition, for the performance of its sacred functions.

"Upon any other subject, whether of general or local policy, I shall be most happy to give the fullest declaration of my sentiments; and shall now conclude my answer to you, as Mr. Corry's friends, by stating that, upon all questions before the House, Mr. Corry and I have invariably acted together, which appears to me to be the best possible illustration I can give of my general political conduct. With respect to my diligence in attending to my duties, I confidently refer you to him.

"I really cannot see what good could arise from my having a conference with Lord Alexander. The course pursued by Lord Belmore at the last election was one pointed out by both parties, and I cannot discover anything to justify a departure from that course upon the present occasion.

"Believe me, Gentlemen, to be very sincerely yours,

"CLAUD HAMILTON."

I do not know as a matter of fact, but I presume, that Lord Belmore's tenantry plumped for his son. A very severe contest took place, with the result that Lord Alexander replaced Lord Claud Hamilton—for a year and some months only, however. The return was

dated 7 August, 1837. On 6 May, 1839, Lord Claud was returned in place of Lord Alexander, now become Earl of Caledon, and held the seat down to the general election of 1874; Mr. Corry being Lord Claud's colleague, except for some months after the former's death in March 1873, when my brother, Captain (now Colonel) the Hon. Henry Corry was his successor. By the Reform Act of 1884, the county of Tyrone has been broken up into four electoral divisions; and the franchise qualification being changed also, its political conditions have been entirely altered.

The Copper Age in Ireland.

By Colonel W. G. Wood-Martin, A.D.C.

Was there in Ireland an age when its inhabitants—knowing no better—used only flint and copper implements, with the complementary materials, wood and bone? Had one, a few years ago, stumbled into the solitary gloomy room in the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, in which the collection of antiquities belonging to the Royal Irish Academy lay huddled together, a startling answer would have been given. There, in huge lettering on the glass cases, the visitor might read that the Bronze Age terminated in Ireland some 1,700 years B.C.; the Copper Age some thousand years before that; and the Stone Age so many millenniums before that again. The reader was mercifully spared the exact days or months on which these metamorphoses took place. Bronze socketed hatchets —the palstaves of pedants—might be seen mounted as spear-heads on make-believe ebony shafts! The antiquities from the sites of Irish lake-dwellings could not be seen, as they were carefully locked up in cupboards! But it may be as well to drop the curtain on this now vanished exhibition of archæological senility, for times are changed: there is a new curator; a king has arisen who knew not Joseph; the placards imparting the foregoing information have been withdrawn from the public gaze; you can actually see the objects in the cases without striking a match (at one time an actual fact); order is slowly emerging out of chaos; the Palæolithic Age of the collection of the Royal Irish Academy is over; but the seventh day—the day of

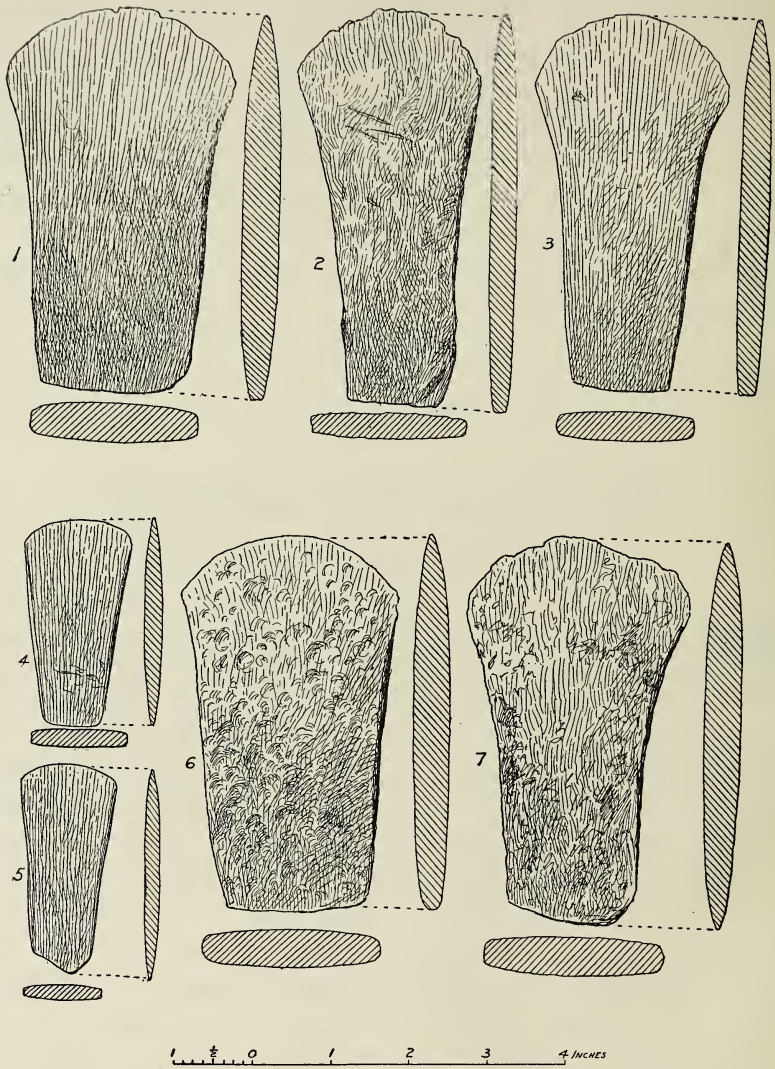


PLATE I.

FLAT COPPER HATCHETS IN THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

No. 1. S.A., $\frac{1898}{1}$. Weight, 16 oz.; smooth.

No. 2. R.I.A., 115. Weight, 8 oz. 4 dwt.; very roughly made; apparently hammered into shape originally; mark of blow at corner; corroded.

No. 3. R., 1897/29. Weight, 9 oz. 10 dwt.; roughly made.

No. 4. R.I.A., Q.Q.6. Weight, 1 oz. 19 dwt.

No. 5. R.I.A., Q.Q.9. Weight, 1 oz. 8 dwt.

No. 6. R.I.A., 18. Weight, 14 oz. 16 dwt.; much corroded.

No. 7. R.I.A., 1683. Weight, 13 oz. 15 dwt.; much corroded; found in Co. Cavan; presented by Lord Farnham.

rest for the curator—has not yet arrived; and we are still in the dark as to when the Copper Age in Ireland either commenced or terminated.

Metallurgic art undoubtedly existed at an early period among the primitive inhabitants; but it has not yet been authoritatively decided—except in the before-quoted instances—when they first discovered the use of copper and the art of working and casting it. On logical grounds there should be an intermediate period, such as a Copper Age, to round off the continuity in the development of human handicraft from the palæolithic, or age of rude stone implements, to the present—that of steel. The small amount of tin (well under one per cent.) found, on analysis, in ancient Irish copper implements was, it is thought, not added intentionally, but was derived from natural alloys in the native ores; but at present there is, it is believed, no record of an analysis of Irish copper ore—Irish copper mines not being "going concerns" for a considerable period; so that until such an assay is made, this matter lies open to conjecture.

It may also be asked, would such a small percentage of alloy have an appreciable effect in adding hardness to the copper, and thus, little by little, lead up to the discovery of the proper proportion of alloy to constitute true bronze? It is not thought that any of these intermediate steps in the upward scale of improvement have as yet been detected. It should also be stated that the Irish name for copper is, it is alleged, a pure Celtic word *(umha)*, whilst the native designation for gold, silver, and iron appears to be of foreign origin; the two former being derived from the Latin, and the latter probably from the Norse or Saxon.

Some archæologists assert that metal was introduced by a different race of men from those that employed stone; but this theory does not seem to adapt itself to the stages of metal-work in Ireland, where the earliest metallic weapons are of the rudest forms, being, seemingly, copies in metal of the stone article previously in use; yet comparatively few implements of pure copper have been preserved, and these appear, in general, to be hatchets of the most primitive type. Two reasons may be assigned for the scarcity of articles of pure copper. The arts of working, alloying, and hardening the metal may have been coevally introduced from the continent; or, after improvement in the art of metallurgy, most of the old implements may have been re-cast and converted into bronze.

To judge from the number of ancient excavations from time to time brought to light, a spirit of mining enterprise must have prevailed

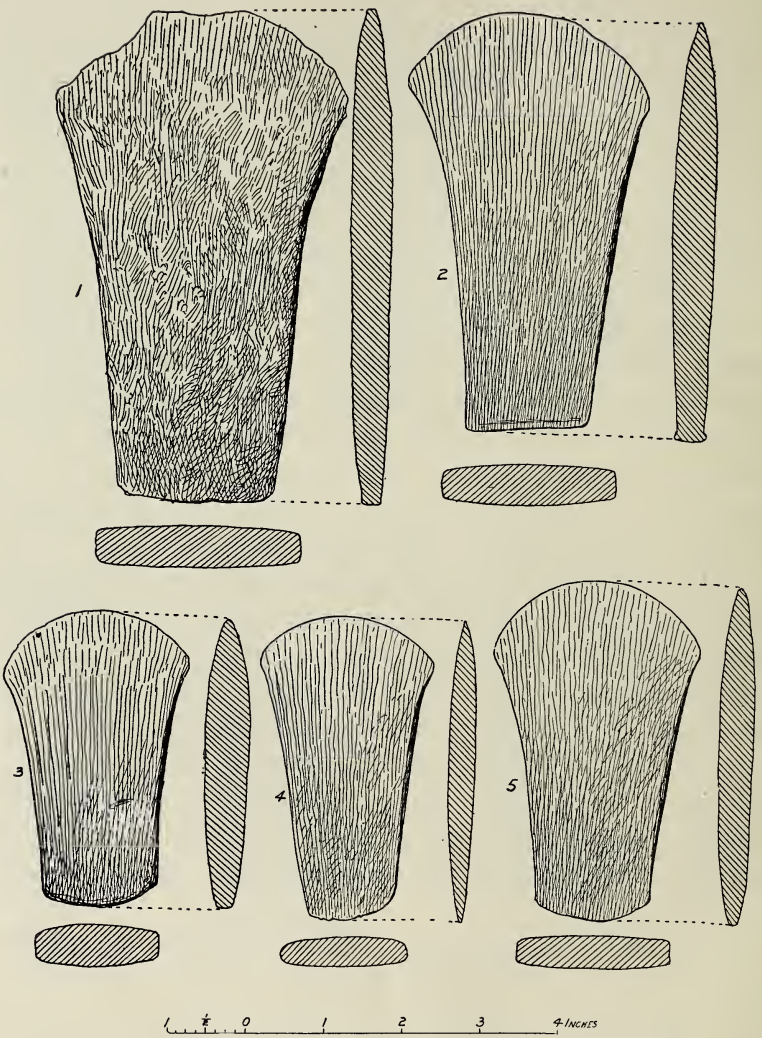


PLATE II.

FLAT COPPER HATCHETS IN THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

No. 1. R., 1663. Weight, 29 oz. 2 dwt.; surface very much corroded; analyzed.

No. 2. 1881/135, Perry Collection. Weight, 18 oz. 16 dwt.; smooth surface; lower edge flattened by hammering.

No. 3. R.I.A., 21, Sirr Collection. Weight, 10 oz. 12 dwt.

No. 4. R.I.A., W3. Weight, 5 oz. 11 dwt.; found in the River Bann at Coleraine; surface smooth; edge very sharp. Analyzed: density, 8·833; copper, 98·43; arsenic, ·76; tin, trace of; silver, ·25; lead, ·05.

No. 5. P. 336. Corroded; weight, 10 oz. 15 dwt.

amongst the inhabitants of the country at a very remote period. Antique tools, hammers, chisels of stone, and wooden shovels have been found in the long-deserted workings, and in some of them implements of iron also; so that these mines would appear to be of every age. In an ancient copper mine in the county of Cork the borings were filled with the rubbish of old workings, and some singular as well as primitive tools were found, together with a number of rolled stones, almost all of which exhibited marks as if they had been used as hammers. A beam of oak, about twenty feet in length, and notched along the sides, suggested its use as a ladder. The rubbish found near the mouth of the mine was covered by several feet of naturally formed peat. Old copper-workings were discovered at Muckross, in Kerry; at Derricarhoon, in Cork; and a lead mine at Milltown, County Clare. In the year 1854, a gentleman, having taken shelter from a heavy shower in a small cave on the slope of the hill of Ballyrizard, County Cork, was struck by its strange appearance, and employed labourers to explore the recess. On clearing out the place, a chamber about twelve feet square was discovered. Here, amongst the débris, several bits of copper ore were found, and in one corner twelve stone axes, all much chipped at the edge. This discovery denoted ancient mining operations. An examination was made of the surrounding farm, on which were found ten or twelve small parallel loads of copper ore.

In sinking pits for exploration purposes in the Avoca mining district, through a bed of yellow ochre styled "The Yellow Bottoms," it was found bored all over with ancient workings. These were an enigma to experts, as they could not conceive what the old workers were mining, until, in one of the disused pits, a portion of a rich black auriferous "gossan load"—from which there must have been a large output of auriferous copper—was discovered, and demonstrated that at one time "The Yellow Bottoms" was a placer mine, exploited for the copper ore it contained.

In the Bronze Age (and *a fortiori* much more in the Copper Age) local intercommunication was extremely difficult, as well as slow; for people, in general, went on foot, and travelling was attended with danger. Under such circumstances, the internal commercial relations of a country were very small. Trade was in the hands of itinerant artificers (later on styled *cairds*), represented by such as we now term pedlars, who sold (or more strictly speaking bartered) articles, practised certain crafts, and wandered over a great extent of territory. To be able to do this, and pass unchallenged from one tribe to

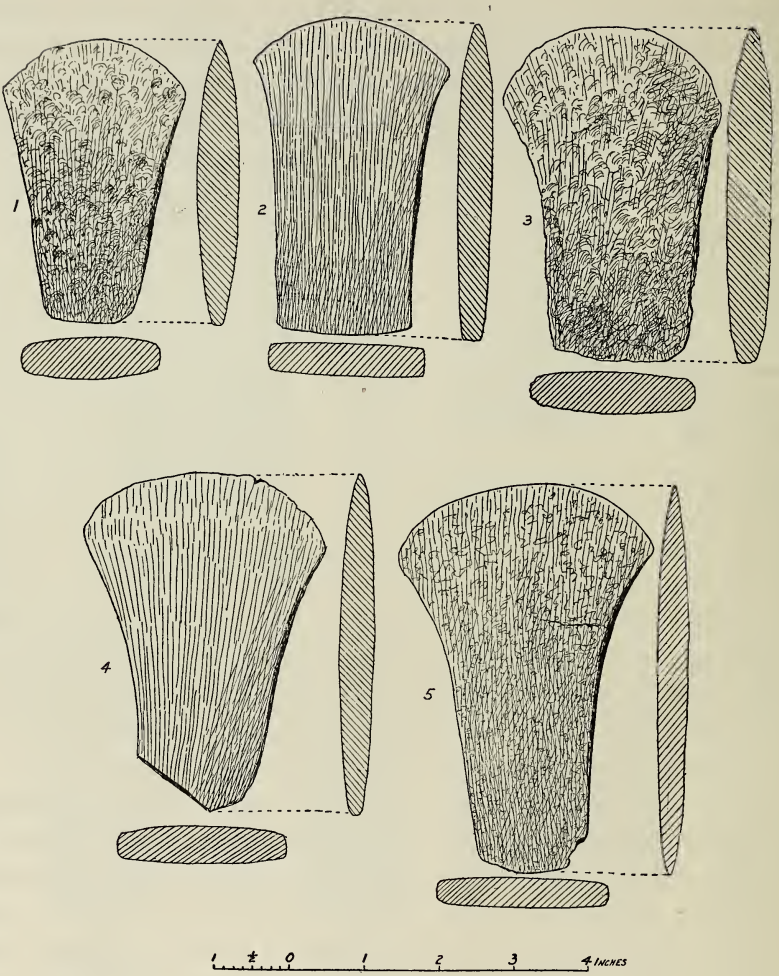


PLATE III.

FLAT COPPER HATCHETS IN THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

No. 1. 1897/1313. Weight, 7 oz. 16 dwt. ; surface corroded.

No. 2. 1897/112. Weight, 12 oz. 15 dwt. ; found in Co. Tyrone. Analyzed: density, 8·862 ; copper, 97·25 ; arsenic, 1·56 ; tin, ·51 ; silver, ·25 ; lead, ·17.

No. 3. R.I.A., 25. Weight, 16 oz. 13 dwt. This object was apparently smooth originally, but is now greatly corroded.

No. 4. R.I.A., 16. Weight, 13 oz. 1 dwt. ; surface smooth ; corner cleanly cut off. Analyzed : copper, 98·74 ; tin, 1·09 ; iron, ·08 ; silver, ·06 ; gold, trace.

No. 5. R.I.A., 603. Weight, 13 oz. 4 dwt. ; corner broken off; crack in thickest part; surface slightly corroded.

another, they must have received, in a certain degree, the same kind of protection as did minstrels in later days.

People who possessed copper or bronze articles that needed mending, if they could not repair them themselves, laid them aside and patiently waited the visit of men professing to make the required repairs. In various localities in Great Britain and Ireland there has been not unfrequently found the entire working stock of primitive artizans who evidently went about in the manner thus described, to make or mend implements of copper or of bronze. Numerous discoveries prove that these articles were in great measure axes; in later times leaf-shaped swords, daggers, punches, gouges, chisels, trumpets, ornaments, and other miscellaneous objects.

From the frequency of these discoveries, it is evident that the makers and menders of these articles were a numerous class. They travelled about with their appliances, tools, melting-pot, moulds, and a certain quantity of material or stock, to which was added the broken implements at the places where they stopped to work. These had, no doubt, been carefully preserved against their arrival, to be taken, probably, in part barter-payment.

A long list of these discoveries might be given. Similar instances have been chronicled in Germany, in Switzerland, and in France.

The collection of antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy now includes nearly one hundred (93) copper implements: others known to have been found in Ireland, deposited in private collections, approximate about as many more.

Discovery of implements of pure copper is not confined to particular localities, but the area of distribution is very extended, embracing almost every county. It can scarcely be contended that the natives would have continued to fabricate weapons out of the inferior metal (copper) when they were acquainted with bronze.

Thirteen specimens were analyzed lately at the instigation of George Coffey, M.R.I.A. In nine implements the percentage of tin did not exceed 0·51; in one it was as low as 0·03: and, according to the above authority, the analyses agree substantially among themselves and with those of copper axes from other parts of Europe.[1]

When copper became known to the ancient inhabitants, the type of the primitive stone hatchet was reproduced in the metallic weapon: for, proportionate to its size, the copper hatchet is usually more thick

[1] Except the above paragraph and the text descriptive of the plates, this article was written before the publication of George Coffey's paper on "Irish Copper Celts," which appeared in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxi, 1901.

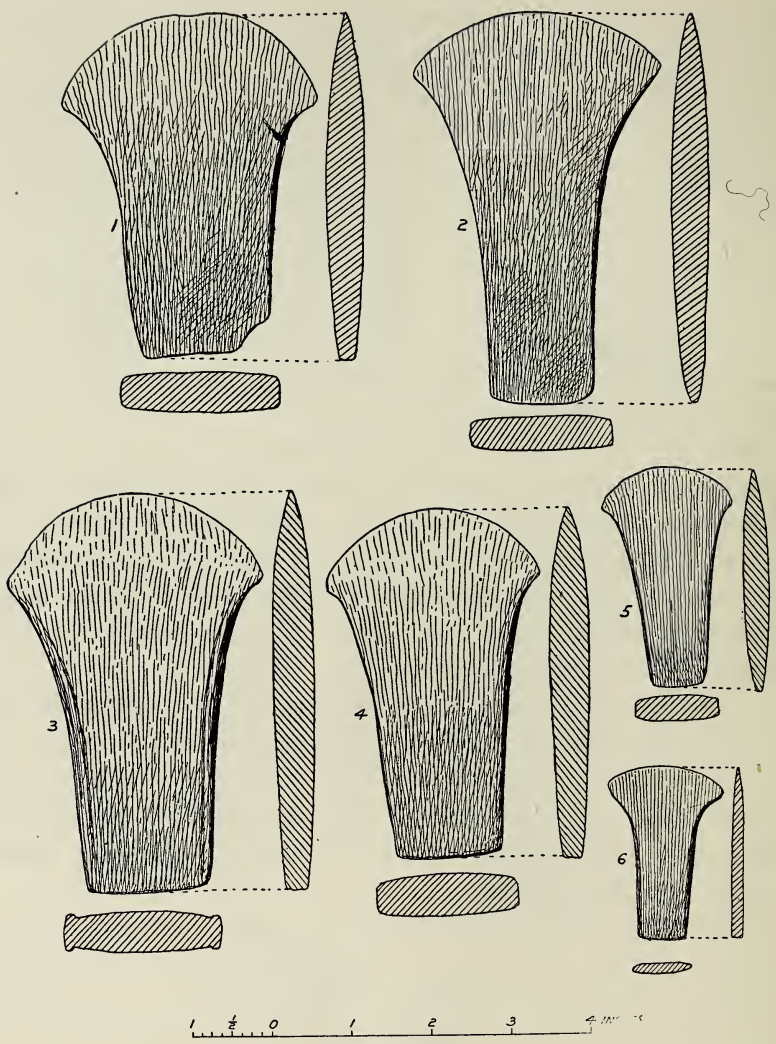


PLATE IV.

FLAT COPPER HATCHETS IN THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

No. 1. R.I.A., 19. Weight, 13 oz. 6 dwt.; corner cut cleanly off.

No. 2. 1875/20. Smooth surface; weight, 11 oz. 14 dwt. Analyzed: density, 8·705; copper, 98·24; arsenic, ·13; tin, ·83; silver, ·07; lead, ·12.

No. 3. 1874/37. Weight, 16 oz. 6 dwt.; smooth surface.

No. 4. 1874/38. Weight, 12 oz. 6 dwt.; smooth. Analyzed: density, 8·749; copper, 97·68; arsenic, ·76; tin, ·79; silver, ·18; zinc, ·44.

No. 5. 1874/39. Weight, 2 oz. 13 dwt.; smooth. Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are very fine specimens, smoothly finished with sharp edges. The raised flanges on No. 3 are the only indication which might be termed ornament on any of the copper objects. They are probably incipient flanges. All found at Kilbannon, Co. Galway. (See plate ii.)

No. 6. 1897/134. Weight, 18 dwt.

and rough on the surface than that of bronze, and it is generally smoother on one side than on the other. These copper implements are usually undecorated: some of them are six inches long by about four wide. It was gradually perceived by the old craftsmen that a lesser quantity of copper possessed more toughness than an equal amount of flint or stone; the metal was therefore economized by flattening the sides of the weapon. As skill increased, the aim of the fabricator appears to have been concentrated in forming the largest possible weapon with the minimum expenditure of metal; and this principle of design pervades the construction of the entire series of copper as well as of bronze weapons.

Thus the distinguishing features of the development of the copper axe are:

(1) Gradual departure from the traditional form of the stone hatchet.

(2) Expansion of the cutting edge into a type relatively broad compared with the length, which

(3) Gradually merges into a class in which the cutting edge is narrower, and presents a longer and better proportioned and more workmanlike appearance. The thin types are represented by figs. 176, 177, 178, *Pagan Ireland*, taken from Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Antiquities of the R.I.A.

Plates i. to iv. represent a series of hatchets of copper, taken from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It is very difficult—almost impossible—to arrange them in a regular series by thickness and shape, as some of the long rectangular objects are thin (No. 2, plate i), and some of the short curved ones thick (No. 4, plate iv). Some of the hatchets were subjected to very rough treatment by finders ignorant of their value, being used as hammers, wedges in ploughs, etc. This probably explains the flattened edge of No. 2, plate ii.

The weights of each object are given in Troy ounces and pennyweights. The analyses of those specimens which have been tested were taken from the catalogue in the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, by Gerald Wakeman. W. placed before a number refers to Sir William Wilde's Catalogue.

The late W. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., pointed out that all objects of antiquity fabricated from copper, and its alloy made by adding tin in certain proportions, are liable to attack by a destructive corroding disease styled "Bronze Cancroid." Under most circumstances, the red surface of copper, or the brighter yellow of bronze, soon loses its

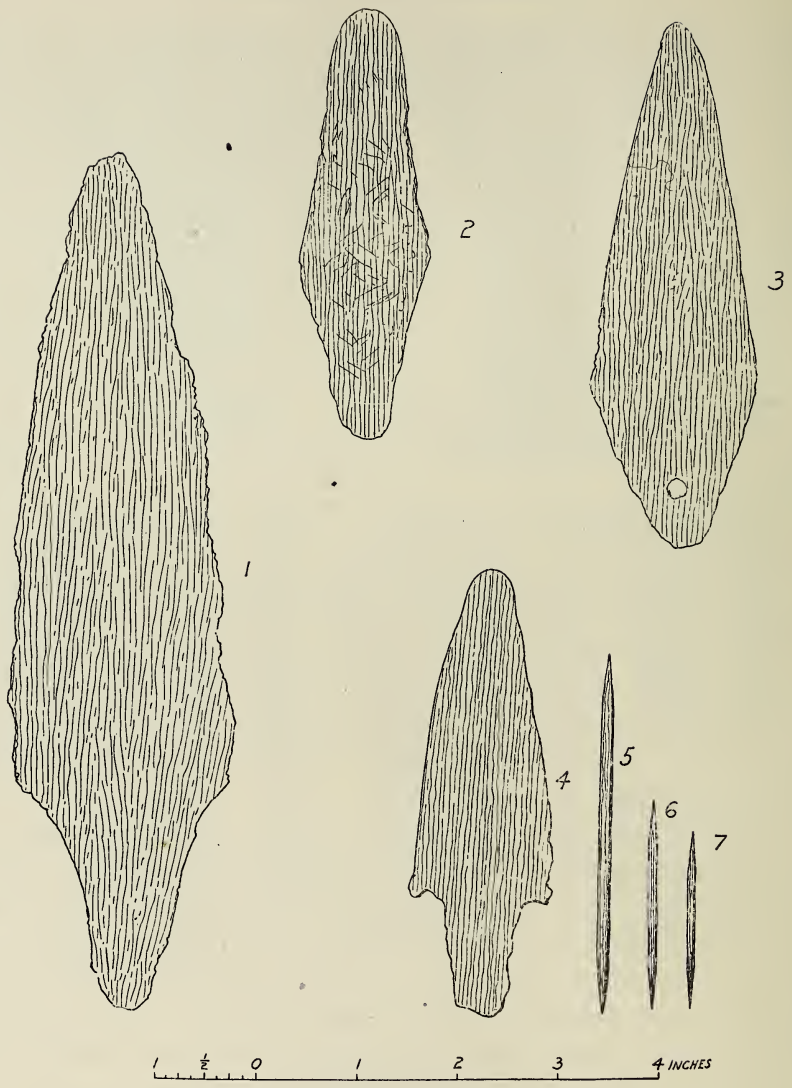


PLATE V.

FLAT COPPER OBJECTS (PROBABLY KNIVES),
FROM THE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUITIES OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.
Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

No. 1. W. 172.
No. 2. 1900/6.
No. 3. W. 175.
No. 4.
No. 5. } 1874/40 } Found at Knockanoge, Kilbannon, County Galway, with Nos. 3, 4, and 5, plate iv.
No. 6.
No. 7.

These objects were not weighed, as Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are thin plates of copper, and 4, 5, 6, 7 are attached to a card. All appear too thin to have served as weapons either of offence or of defence; they are, however, of sufficient thickness to have acted as knives or cutting implements, and such was their probable use. In No. 3 a rivet-hole is observable: a provision probably for the attachment of a handle of wood, bone, or some such perishable substance. The implements Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 may have been employed for cutting hides or similar tough material. Present-day leather-workers use a knife with curved contour. Nos. 5, 6, 7 were probably pins.

lustre, and becomes converted into a reddish suboxide ; but when either copper or bronze is exposed to the continuous combined action of moisture, warmth, and carbonic acid gas, the conversion of the surface of the metal proceeds further, "until it acquires a lovely shade of blue, such as mineralogists term azurite, or some tint of rich green carbonate, similar to the various colours of the mineral malachite. These conversions to a red suboxide or to blue or green carbonate are all healthy processes, and, so far from causing the slightest injury, are considered to augment the value and beauty of the bronze when thus altered.

"Far different is the bronze disease; it produces a remarkable disintegrating and destructive effect on the object it attacks, and there are good reasons for considering that it possesses infective powers, spreading like a leprosy through the substance of the metal, and slowly reducing it to amorphous powder; further, there are substantial grounds for believing it capable of being conveyed from surfaces already suffering with it to those yet uninfected, so that dishonest counterfeiters of antiques now propagate it on their modern forgeries to deceive intended purchasers."

Be this as it may, under every possible disadvantageous circumstance, copper and bronze resist the ravages of time with much greater stubbornness than iron. Compare, for instance, the beautiful state of preservation of the bronze leaf-shaped swords of an early period with the condition of the comparatively modern iron swords of the lake-dwellers and of the very similar weapons of the Norsemen.

In course of time the soft nature of pure copper was corrected by the admixture of tin. These, together with a minute quantity of lead, constituted the component parts of most of the bronze articles found in Ireland. Tin-stone, or native oxide of tin, is found in small quantities in the sand and gravel of rivers in Wicklow, and appears there, as in other countries, curiously associated with gold. Tin has also been found in the county of Kerry and other localities: owing, however, to the small quantities in which it is present, it is—as a marketable commodity—practically useless. This important mineral is (according to G. H. Kinahan) recorded as occurring with lead and zinc in a lode in Dalkey, County Dublin. It also occurs in "the black sand" with the gold in the diluvial workings in "placer mines" in County Wicklow, but no lode of it has been discovered in that county.

Nine parts of copper to one part of tin are the constituents of the most serviceable bronze, and analysis of various ancient bronzes tends to confirm the value of this proportion, which, however, can be even

better arrived at from other premises; i.e., that certain forms of bronze weapons, instruments, and utensils are, judging by their component parts, of much later date than others. In sixteen specimens of antique bronze—submitted for the purpose of analysis—the amount of tin varied from one to nearly fourteen per cent.; there did not appear to have been any fixed proportion of alloy. In some examples small quantities of lead were discernible, but in other articles—probably of late bronze manufacture—it was more largely used. A collection of antiques found at Dowris, in King's County, were formed of a beautiful description of bronze, having a peculiar golden hue, owing, as supposed, to the admixture of a certain portion of lead. This kind of metal has received the designation of "Dowris bronze." In the Late Bronze Period, zinc in small quantities was, it is stated, mixed with copper in the manufacture of the beautiful culinary utensils of those times.

Notes and Queries.

This column is open to readers desirous of obtaining or imparting information on questions of interest and obscure points of historical lore relating to the district.

MS. History of Presbyterianism in Ireland.—The Rev. William Campbell, D.D., at one time minister of the old congregation of Antrim, then of one in Armagh, and subsequently of one in Clonmel, where he died in 1805, wrote a *History of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, which, however, was never printed. When last heard of, it was in the possession of John Gordon, School Inspector, Belfast. Gordon, however, has been dead some years, and it is presumed the *History* was disposed of along with his other effects. Can any reader of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* say what has become of it? W. S. S.

Enniskillen Burgesses, 1612 (vol. ix, p. 31).—The third on the list was Robert Calvert, not "Cathcart." Sir A. Chichester appends a note to the list: "These cannot well stand, for those he (the Attorney-General) should name must be of the town. These are Undertakers" [Calendar State Papers (Irish), 1611–14]. Robert Calvert was an undertaker for 1,000 acres in the barony of Clankelly, Co. Fermanagh, and was residing there in 1611. He was probably a relative of Sir George Calvert (1578–1632), who was given by the King large grants of land in Ireland, and created a peer of that kingdom, as Baron Baltimore of Baltimore, Co. Longford, 1624. The Christian name of the last burgess on the list, printed "John" Walters, appears as "Joseph" in the Calendar State Papers; but it may be an error which frequently occurs from mistaking the common abbreviation "Jo," used for John at that period, for Joseph. CHARLES S. KING, Bart.

Armorial Sculptured Stones of the County Antrim.

By Francis Joseph Bigger and Herbert Hughes.

(Continued from vol. viii, page 93.)

Cushendun Parish.

In the chapel yard at Inispollan, close to the entrance-gate, the following arms and inscription are cut on a large flat stone :

MacAULAY.

UNDERNEATH LIES THE BODY OF MARY McAULAY WIFE TO TOBY McAULAY OF INISHPOLLAN WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 2d OF JULY 1768. AGED 42 YEARS WITH THR EE OF THEIR CHILDREN WILLIAM CHARS AND MARY THE ABOVE TOBY DIED MARCH 16TH 1796 AGED 83 YEARS. and Daniel his son who died in March 1818 aged 87 years and Fran ces wife of Daniel died in Feb. 1810 aged 71 years also Mary Mc Donnell who died in 1824 aged 78 years and Rose Mc Don-nell who died in 1818 aged 85 years daughters to the above.

Derriaghy Parish.

SEEDS.

Here lyeth the body of
William Seeds of Belfast
Merchant who died ye 13TH
of November 1746 . aged
67 years.
Also his wife Mary Seeds,
who died the 19TH of said
Month aged 62 Years
Here lyeth the body of M^r^
Stephen Seeds of Belfast
Merch^t^ who departed this
life 23^d^ Sep^t^ 1755 aged 32
Years.

Here lyeth the
Bodys of Stephen
Francis Robt & Ann
Children of William
Seeds Merch^t^ in
Belfast

The above stone has recently been removed from its old site, near the north wall of the parish church, and placed in a new enclosure beside an obelisk, and not even placed correctly, as it now faces the west. It should have been left in its proper place, as it has no connection with its present site. The old graves are now left undenoted.

Donegore Parish.

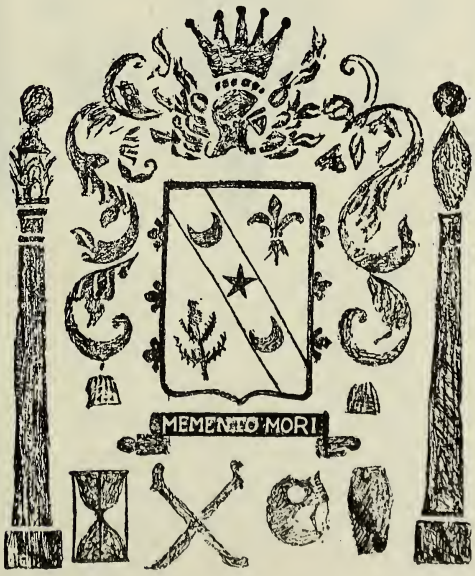
The following stones are in the parish churchyard. The first one is south-east of the church; the other two are side by side, near the south-west corner of the church.

FERGUSON.

Here lyeth
THE bo- -dy of
Joseph Fergus-
-on who died
Jan 30th 1773 aged 44 years
and 3 of his children

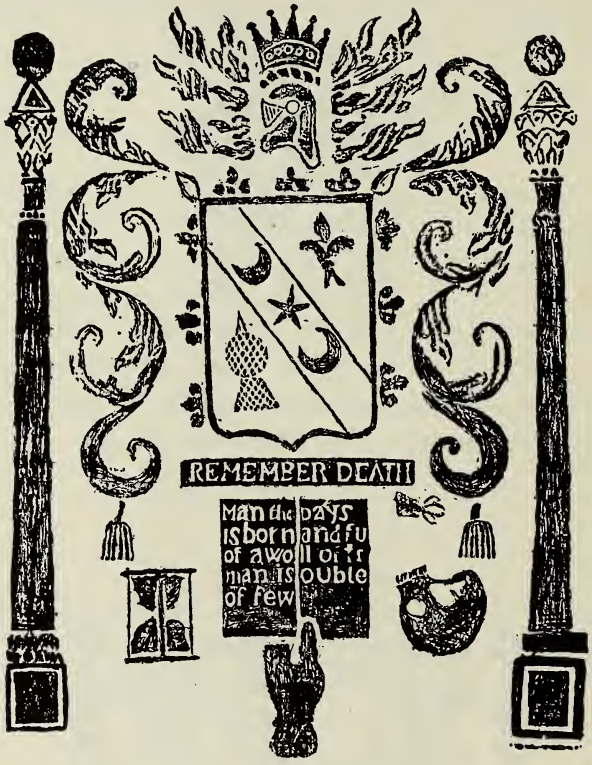
The late Sir Samuel Ferguson was of this family, and the above arms have been cut on the gate-posts at his grave close at hand.

SCOT.



Here lyeth ye body of
Margret Craig wife
to Francis Scot of te-
mplepatrick who depar
ted this life May ye
5th 1741 aged 60 years

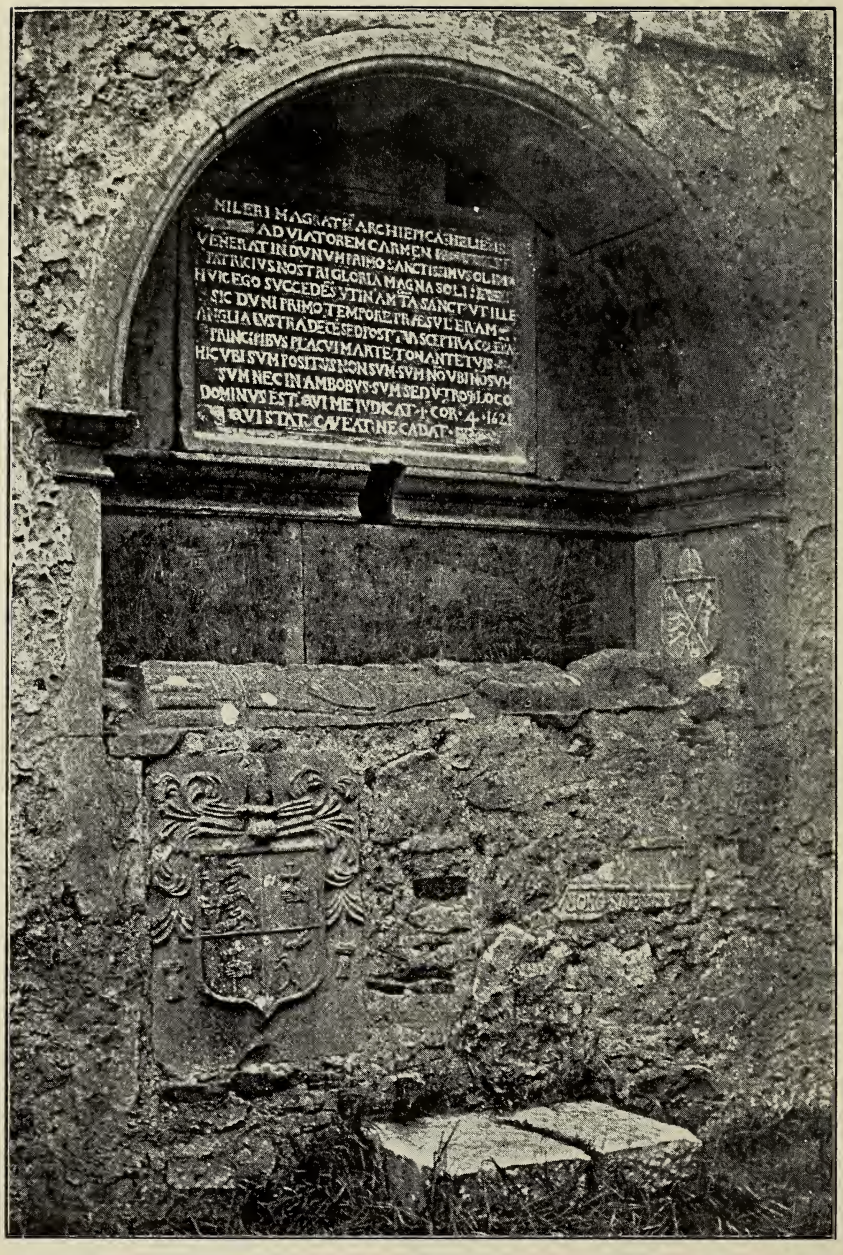
SCOT.



Here lyeth ye body of y- re
vrd Mr Hugh Scot minister
of ye gospel who departed
this life mach r y e 26 1736 Ag
ed 31 years ≡ also his grand
father Hugh Scot of Dunet
hry who departed this life
June ye 24 1740 aged 92 year s

These two Scot arms are cut large on the backs of the stones, covering the whole surface. The inscriptions are on the east faces. They are close to the west end of the church.

(To be continued.)



TOMB OF MILER MAGRATH IN CASHEL CATHEDRAL.

(Block lent by Colonel Vigors).

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EDITED BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A., ARDRIE, BELFAST.

The Castle and Territory of Termon Magrath.

BY THE EARL OF BELMORE, G.C.M.G.

(Continued from page 54.)

IN the discussion which has arisen since the first part of this paper appeared in the last number of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, about the sincerity of Magrath's conversion, or otherwise, two references have been brought to light which had escaped me, and which seem to confirm my view that it was of a very perfunctory character. They are as follows :—On 31 July, 1593, the Lord-Deputy had addressed formal complaint to Cecil, that "Many Romish emissaries have nested in Ireland by the Archbishop of Cashel's favour"; while, in 1608, Chichester had to record, as the result of personal inquiry, that "At my being at Cashel I understood that the Popish Archbishop Kearney—who upon every occasion dispatches letters for beyond the seas—resides there, together with his brother, Father Kearney, a Jesuit, and Father Wale, a Jesuit, all born in that town."

Magrath, although he played his cards cleverly, was constantly distrusted by the agents of England in this country. In March 1593 he was accused of "treason, felony, simony, and extortion," on information lodged against him by two complainants named Edmund Flemming and J. Kearney. Magrath was, however, equal to the occasion. He proceeded to London, and by dint of written declarations as to the earnestness of his desire for the "Reformation" of Ireland (*Query*—Did this mean a religious reformation ?), succeeded in defeating the

machinations of his enemies.[1] The letters undoubtedly show that Magrath at this time professed himself a Protestant. There is, however, nothing in the main facts of his career to make certain that there was any sincerity in his declarations. On the whole, it seems not unlikely that the supposition that he really died—as popular tradition asserts—a Catholic, is correct. I do not, however, attach much importance to charges which very likely were made against Magrath by persons who were not entirely disinterested, and which the English Government does not seem to have been much impressed by.

It may help to elucidate the real state of matters as regards Miler Magrath's conversion, if we consider the series of events which occurred, together with the surrounding circumstances.

If Miler were, as tradition has it, in his 100th year when he died in 1622, he was born in or about 1523. He was the eldest son of a minor chieftain, who was the Termoner or Erenach of the Augustinian monastery, known as St. Patrick's Purgatory, at Lough Derg, in Tirconnell, in the north-west part of the diocese of Clogher. His father had obtained a grant of the monastery lands for himself, with remainder to his son, the then Archbishop of Cashel; but probably not having complied with the conditions of the grant, it had become void. The estate was then granted to one Leicester; but again becoming forfeited, was finally granted under the usual plantation conditions, to James Magrath, one of the younger sons of the Archbishop, in the latter's lifetime. This James may probably have been a Protestant. He appears to have left no son, and I think that his successor was his nephew James, son of Marcus Magrath. James the younger was in possession at the time of Bishop Spottiswoode's visit to Lough Derg in 1632, to carry out the orders of the Lords-Justices and Privy Council to overthrow the buildings on Station Island, in Lough Derg. He (James) seems to have afterwards alienated his interest in this very extensive estate to Bishop John Leslie, for the use of the See of Clogher. That bishop made a lease of the lands to his own son,

[1] On 22 August, 1592, a letter, under the Privy Seal, to the Lord-Deputy, from Queen Elizabeth, recited that Archbishop Magrath had been a long time at Court about the affairs of his Archbishopric, and had been employed in her service to her contentation; and that she willed that no penalty be extended on him by his absence without license. That, as he had a lease in his own right of the Priory of Tome, at £11 11*s.* 4*d.*, of which there were but few years in being, she ordered a new lease of 31 years to be executed to him in reversion. That, as the College of Cashell, consisting of a house and a few tenements, was, for lack of the ancient evidence maintaining their Mortmain, like to be in some peril by persons seeking the same by way of concealment: so her Majesty commanded his allegations in that particular to be examined, and if true, that a grant be made, in form of law, to the Dean and Chapter of the said College, for continuance of them in their former possessions, and to see that no further diminution be made of them. The Queen also commanded, that if Waterford and Lismore had been filled by any other Bishop, then the Deputy should grant to Archbishop Magrath the two Bishoprics of Clogher and Kilmore in lieu thereof.—*Ware's Antiquities, Ireland*, p. 484.

Charles Leslie, a well-known man in his day; from whom it has passed, in the usual way for church lands to pass, to the present owner, Sir John Leslie.

To return to Miler Magrath. The only thing that I have found about his earlier career is, that he became a Franciscan friar: when and where I know not. In 1565, being then either 42 or 43 years of age, he was consecrated by the Pope in person for the bishopric of Down, of which St. Patrick was the first bishop. This consecration must have been recognised by Queen Elizabeth so far as conferring the episcopal status upon Miler went; but she denied the right of any person but herself to appoint to the bishopric of Down. As in doing so she appears to have been following in the footsteps, not only of Henry VIII., but of her sister Queen Mary, who certainly was not a Protestant, the admission or denial of the Pope's supremacy could hardly have been then looked on as a very serious *religious* matter.

After waiting a year and a half, Miler made "his humble submission" to the Queen, before her Lord-Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, at Drogheda. But there is no mention that I know of, of his having done or renounced anything, more than that. This was in 1567. The Queen did not confirm him apparently in the bishopric of Down at all, as there is no record of a Writ of Restitution; but after keeping him waiting for three years more, appointed him, when 48, to the See of Clogher, his own native country. The country of this diocese had been ravaged by wars; the revenues consisted then only of one-fourth of the tithes of the clergy, and some fees or dues payable by them when the bishop visited their parishes. Probably in most, if not in all the diocese, there were hardly any Protestants, and therefore next to nothing for Miler Magrath to do or enjoy.

Five months later the Queen translated Miler to the archbishopric of Cashel, in which he spent over half a century.

It may be well to see how Cashel was situated ecclesiastically in 1570. I may remark in passing, that I have not so far learned how and when the Pope supplied Magrath's place in Down, or whether he had a bishop of his own nomination in Clogher in 1570. But nothing turns on it. In Cashel, however, it is different. I find[1] that one Fitzgibbon, or MacGibbon, was the first of the Papal succession in the See of Cashel after the Reformation, and after a vacancy of 16 years. The Consistorial Acts produced by Dr. Brady, though differing in

[1] From a small work by the late Rev. Dr. Groves, called *The Titular Archbishops of Ireland* (1897).

other respects, agree in making 1567 the correct date of MacGibbon's appointment. They read as follows: "Die 4to Junii, 1567; referente, etc., Morono, S.N.D. providit ecclesiæ Metrop, Cassilen, in Hibernia, a sedecim annis et ultra vacanti, de persona R D Mauritii MacGibbon, abbatis ordinis Cisterciensis, idonei," etc., etc. MacGibbon made his way to the Court of Philip II. of Spain before proceeding to Ireland. When he did get there, he found an Archbishop MacCaghwell installed in Cashel by the Queen's authority, or at least recognised by her. This prelate, however, was a Protestant. MacGibbon took forcible possession of the cathedral, imprisoned MacCaghwell, and, according to Hooker, stabbed him. By his own account given to Walsingham, he had to fly out of Ireland, about March 1569, on account of this outrage; and went to Philip of Spain, with whom he entered into negotiations on behalf of himself and others in Ireland, which Philip seems to have been undecided about closing with. Ultimately Philip sent him away "in displeasure."

Meanwhile Queen Elizabeth had appointed Miler Magrath to Cashel. MacGibbon appears to have lived abroad until his death in 1578. The last notice of him in the State Papers is from a report of Sir William Drury to the Irish Privy Council, 24 March, 1578: "James Fitzmaurice, and one calling himself an Archbishop of this realm, at sea fell to piracy, taking an Englishman, and sending the men that were aboard to the Inquisition." Several writers testify that MacGibbon died at Oporto in 1578.

It seems to be doubtful whether the Pope filled up the vacancy before 3 September, 1681, when Archbishop O'Hurley was appointed.

Lynch, in his *Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, says:

"I have read a copy of a dispensation for a certain citizen of Cashel, conceded by Gregory XIII., in a case of irregularity, on the Kalends of July 1581, and sent to *Thomas* Bishop of Cashel, then present in the city; but of the cognomen of that Thomas, or anything else about him, I have not yet found anything. He could not have long survived, as seems to be established from the institution of his successor."

Upon this, Groves remarks:

"But if he had survived a single day, how could Darby O'Hurley have been said, in the Consistorial Acts, to have been made a successor to Archbishop Maurice [MacGibbon]?"

Assuming that there was a vacancy of three years between MacGibbon and O'Hurley, it may be asked, might not the Pope have delayed making an appointment, in the expectation or the hope that *Miler Magrath* might return to *his* allegiance? That is, on the assumption that he was still unmarried.

I think that we ought also to consider the quality of Irish

Protestantism in Queen Elizabeth's time. It seems to me to have been in general of a political, official, and perfunctory nature, when Miler conformed in 1570. It was not until he was nearing the end of his career that a more militant and real Protestantism obtained with Henry Ussher (the future celebrated Primate and Archbishop of Armagh), about 1613, when he was a Fellow of Trinity College and only approaching middle age. The Presbyterian settlers from Scotland, moreover, had not yet appeared on the scene. Everyone can form his own conclusions about this matter. Mine is that Magrath's Protestantism was at the most of a very nominal and perfunctory character.

I have found an interesting reference to the Purgatory at Lough Derg, in a recently published work by Julia Cartwright, entitled *Isabella D'Este.* A Papal Nuncio had come to England to visit King Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine of Aragon. He was a correspondent of Isabella D'Este (of Ferrara), Marchesa of Mantua, and wrote a long letter to her describing his reception at the brilliant English Court. In a postscript dated 10 July, 1617, the Nuncio informs Isabella that the King and Queen are leaving London to spend the summer in the country, and he and his suite are going to *Hibernia* to see the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and all the other wonderful things of that island of which he has heard so much, and which he will describe to her on his return. It was many weeks, however, before *Chiericata* (the Nuncio) was able to fulfil his promise; and when he did so, he was obliged to confess that the experiences which he had met with in Ireland were hardly those which he expected to find in the Island of Saints.

"You must know," he wrote from Middelburg, in Zeeland, on the 28th of August, "that we left London with letters from the King, and, after travelling five days, reached a city called Chiustra [Chester], and crossed the sea in a day and night to Dublino, one of the three metropolitan cities of Hibernia. It is full of people and ships, which export salt fish, leather, horses, and cattle, and take back wine and merchandise. Here we were courteously entertained by the Archbishop and the Count of Childaria [Kildare], the viceroy of the island, and went on with letters from them to Dromore, a city in a pleasant plain, and five miles further to Doncalek [Dundalk], once a famous city, but now in ruins. After another day's journey of twenty-four miles we reached Armacana [Armagh], the seat of the Primate, which has an abbey of Canons, but is very desolate. Here you find yourself

in the midst of a savage country, and leaving the sea, begin to enter the hills. Twenty miles further, we reached the walled city of Clochere [Clogher], which is full of thieves, and twelve miles from that another town called Omagh, also full of thieves. Then we entered Tyrone, a country full of forests, lakes, and swamps, where the dominion of England ceases and a native count reigns. Here are many rivers, where in May and June pearls are found hidden in the oysters on the rocks. During those two months clouds of black fog settle on the rivers in the early morning, and when the sun rises, they melt into dew, and if by accident a drop falls into an open oyster, it congeals into a hard white substance. These are those pearls which are called Scottish pearls, and the people find so many of them that they drive a thriving trade. [Omagh pearls are still to be found in the River Strule.] Here we reached the banks of a lake [Lough Derg], which is four miles round and has a rocky island in the centre, 20 steps long by 16 wide, which is called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and is inhabited by three Canons. By sounding a horn and waving a white handkerchief on the end of a pole, we summoned one of the Canons' two servants, who rowed us one by one across the lake in a rude bark made of a hollow beech trunk, for which we paid a penny each. Here we landed and found a little oratory, with a hut and tables for the Canons. In front of the church door are the three cabins of St. Brigid, St. Patrick, and St. Columba. Behind, towards the east, is the well of St. Patrick, a cave in which the saint is said to have slept. It holds twelve people, and has an iron door; but I did not go inside, fearing to see terrible things. So I remained outside, standing three steps from the door, and the Canons went in with two pine torches. I looked at the roof, which is a rock like a mill-stone, and when you strike it you hear an echo, and this has given rise to the fables we hear about St. Patrick's well. Two of my companions entered the cave with five other pilgrims, but I think my penance was worse than theirs, as I had to await their return almost ten days, and during that time I consumed the greater part of the victuals we had brought with us. On the day of your arrival, you make your will, if you have anything to leave! Then you confess and fast on bread and water for nine days, and visit the three cabins every hour, saying any number of prayers. And you have to stand in the lake, some up to the knees, others half-way up their bodies, and some up to their necks! At the end of nine days you hear mass, communicate, and are blessed and signed with holy water, and go with the cross before you to the gate of St. Patrick's well. Then you go inside, and the

door is closed, and not opened until the next day, as you have to stay there twenty-four hours. The rock is pierced on one side, and a dish with food is put in through this hole by one of the Canons, who stands there and exhorts the pilgrims to be constant and not to be overcome by the temptations of the devil, for it is said that all manner of horrible visions appear to them, and many come out idiots or madmen, because they have yielded to temptation. Of those who entered the cave when I was present, two saw such fearful things that one went out of his mind, and when he was questioned, declared that he had been beaten violently, but by whom he did not know. Another had seen beautiful women, who invited him to eat with them, and offered him fruit and food of all sorts, and these were almost vanquished. The others saw and felt nothing but great cold, hunger, and weakness, and came out half dead the next day. We revived them as best we could, and their names were written in a book kept in the church, which contains the names of all the pilgrims who go there. The first name I read was that of Guarino da Dirraggo, which I thought must be fabulous, but now I have found his journey described in an ancient parchment manuscript. The merit of entering this Purgatory is, they say, that you not only receive plenary indulgence, but that through the grace granted to St. Patrick you will not have to do penance for your sins in another world. We returned by the same road to Armagh, and after visiting the Abbey of Verdelino, travelled thirty-four miles further to a city on the sea, called Don [Down], where I found a bishop who comes from Viterbo, an old man of 114 years. His church contains the bodies of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, and here we made a station of three days on our pilgrimage. In this place I could not walk about the streets without being pursued by people, who came running out of their houses to kiss my clothes when they heard that I was the Pope's Nuncio, so I was forced to stay at home. Such is the annoyance which arises from over much religion! But the good old bishop treated me very kindly, and gave me some excellent fishing. Here fish are so plentiful that you can buy a salmon of 50 lbs., which would be worth a great deal in Italy, for a single penny."

NOTE.—We lately examined the tomb of the Archbishop in Cashel Cathedral. There is his recumbent effigy in full Roman pontificals as designed by himself. We reproduce on page 108 portions of the carving, the arms at his head, his mitre and archiepiscopal cross, the cross upon his breast, and his hand raised in benediction, with five rings upon the fingers and thumb. The arms appear to be those of Magrath crossed saltire wise, with an archiepiscopal cross and a pastoral staff. Similar arms are on a slab built into the front of the tomb. The inscription can be read in the illustration (see frontispiece). On a slab behind is a representation of Saint Patrick similarly attired to Magrath. EDITOR.

The later history of the Archbishop and his family may be learned partly from the Archbishop's will, and partly from funeral entries and from notices in the State Papers. The following is an epitome of the will:

"Memorandum that ye viiith of November a$^{o.}$ d$^{ni.}$ 1622, Milerus Magrath, late lord Archbishop of Cashell at Cashell aforesaid, being sicke of body, but of pfect memorie and understanding, made that his last will and nuncupative testament in manner and fourme following:

"Imprimis he bequeathed his soule to God, and wished his body to be buried in the cathedral church of Cashell.

"Fther he left and bequeathed unto his son Redmond Magrath all such sums of money, arrear of rent, and debts whatsoever due unto him ye said Milerus, by bill, bond, or any other manner of obligation, action, or cause.

"Item he made, constituted, and appointed the sayed Redmond Magrath, his sole executor of that his last will and nuncupative testament.

"Item, he wished all such pledges as lay upon his hands of the goods of any of his children formerly lent unto them, to be gratis restored unto his said children respectively, from whom the said pledges were for any such lended money received.

"Item he left and bequeathed all other his goods and chattles real and personall unto the sayd Redmond, to be by him divided in his discretion, between himself the sayd Redmond, and the rest of the sayd testator's children.

"The aforesaid last will and nuncupative testament, the day, yeare, and place aforesaid in manner and fourme before expressed, was made and declared by the said Milerus before William [illegible], James O'dwyre, William Magrath, and Rory Magrath.

"Proved in the Prerogative Court, 16th day of the month of June, 1624."

I may remark, that though Miler Magrath may have been reconciled to Rome, he does not in his will make any restitution of the spoils of the Church; or express any contrition for his marriage, the date of which I have not found, but which obviously took place some time after his translation to Cashell.

With regard to his gains from the Church, we find in Strafford's *Letters*, vol. i, p. 172, Strafford writing to Archbishop Laud as follows:

"The Archbishop of Cashel's [Archibald Hamilton] suit to redeem that Church from the ugly oppressions of that wicked Bishop Milerus, I have put into a way: the examination will be returned by the beginning of the next term, and by the end I trust to restore to that See at least 400*l.* a year good lands, and will reserve 350*l.* rent for the succession, leaving the rest to be leased by the now Bishop for one and twenty years."

Sir John Davys, writing to the Earl of Salisbury, 4 May, 1606, in some observations in an enclosure, says at p. 474:

"At Cashell we held sessions for the County of 'The Crosse,' and Tipperary. It hath been anciently called the county of Crosse, for it hath been a county above 300 years, and was indeed one of the first that was made in this kingdom, because all the lands within the precinct thereof were either the demesnes of the Archbishop of Cashell, or holden of that See, or else belonging to abbeys, or other houses of religion, and so the land is as it were dedicated to the Cross of Christ."

And again:

"We found not in the gaol of this shire above two or three prisoners, and as many more appeared upon recognizances, of which only one was arraigned and condemned and

executed; and the rest, being loose and idle persons, found masters, or sureties for their behaviour, and so were delivered; whereupon there remained nothing to be done, but to indict the recusants of that town, wherein we found only one inhabitant that came to church; for even the Archbishop's own sons, and sons-in-law, dwelling there, are obstinate recusants. We indicted more than one hundred in this poor town, and appointed the penalties to be employed towards the reparation of the parochial and cathedral church, which is a fair ancient structure, situate upon a high hill, which is nothing but a main rock upon the west side of the town."

I may mention here that, on 11 September, 1606, the Lord-Deputy and Council, writing to the Lords of the English Privy Council, said:

"From Monaghan they travelled into Fermanagh, but on their way thither they received advertizement from the Archbishop of Cashell, born in that country, and then sojourning there upon some private occasions, that the Earl of Tirconnell and Couconough Maguire, two of the chieftains of that county, had taken shipping privily at Calibeg (Killybeggs), either for Spain or the Low Countries, which advertizement, albeit it proved not true, yet they learned by due examination that there was such an intention, and that they both went thither with that end; the first of these being somewhat unstaid—the other extreme proud—and both of them poor and discontented; and undoubtedly if they had power answerable to their minds, they would more manifestly declare themselves. . . . For in certain instructions in the time of Sir George Carie's government, His Highness [the King] signified his express pleasure, that the whole country should be divided between those two chieftains, viz. Couconough Maguire and Couconagh Roe Maguire, without any further limitation; according to which it shall be settled, they can conceive little good hope, that ever that country shall come to civility and obedience, being left in a manner wholly to the self willed government of those two men."

The "country" here referred to has long been amongst the quietest and most civilized districts in Ireland. The "due examination" above referred to included two taken on the same day "at the camp before Devenish" [near Enniskillen], August, 1606. The first of these was that of one Teig O'Corkran, and taken by the Lord-Deputy Chichester and Thomas Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor. In it the examinate

"Confesseth that he hath received orders of Deacon from the Bishop of Cashell [Magrath], and that he lately went to Multifernan, to the supposed Bishop Bradie, by whom he confesseth he was reconciled and received absolution. He also confesseth that now of late he hath attended Couconough Maguire, and accompanied him to Ballyshannon and Dunagall. That they went to the island of Cladie, and in the way met with the Earl of Tirconnell, and returned with him to Dunagall. Being demanded whether they were at Arran, confesseth they were, and the Earl also in their company, and that the cause of Maguire's going thither was only to buy wines. Being demanded whether he did write any letter from Couconagh to Brian, his brother, he said he did not, but being urged whether he had written any letter lately for him, confesseth he had written two; one to Shane M'Hugh, for five garrans [ponies] to be sent after him to Ballashannon, the other to Priest McTrevor; and being demanded what were the contents of that letter, said it contained this much in effect: 'I have delivered you a secret; and I do allow you after seven or eight days to impart the same to my brother Brian.'"

Being examined the second time the same day before "Arthur Chichester" and "Mark [? Miler] Cashell,"

"He saith he is assured Maguire would have gone for Spain or the Low Countries if he could have gotten shipping; for so he told this examinate, alleging no other causes but his poverty, and that his country was divided betwixt himself and Connor Rea Maguire; which did properly belong to himself; and that he had neither goods nor people; and that he would take examinate and one boy with him; and that he would serve for his living abroad. But he knoweth not whether the Earl would have gone, but sure he is, he promised to provide a ship for Maguire. He further saith that he made his will before his going, and left it either with Aghie McTrevor or his brother Brian Maguire, both of which are acquainted with the contents thereof as he thinks. But knows no more than in his former confession touching his writing to the priest, not to reveal what he had written or told him for a certain space, which he now takes to be a quarter of a year."

After this confession, which is printed in italics, there follows this in Roman type:

"The examinate Corkran was servant to the Archbishop of Cashell, and now of late a little before our journey, at the earnest request of Maguire, the Archbishop was content he should dwell with him, the said Maguire having great use of his pen, and of his English tongue for certain business he pretended to have with him the Deputy, and is a foster brother of the said Maguire as he saith."

It must not be supposed from this that Couconough Maguire was an illiterate person, or unable to write his own letters. I have no note of it, but I have gathered the contrary from the Calendar of State Papers. I think that the above extracts show not only what an active and vigorous old man Miler was in or about his 84th year, but also the sort of services which he was able to render to the English Government, both in Cashel and in his old diocese of Clogher, and which enabled him so successfully during half a century to "hunt with the hounds and run with the hare."

We find Miler at a very advanced age, in 1610, "asking for more," through Sir Thomas Ridgeway (No. 583, 1610); "Prays that he will procure for him the Bishopric of Killala and Achonry, for which he had resigned Waterford and Lismore, under promise of the Lord-Deputy and Council; sets forth his hard case." I will conclude his personal history with the account which he gives of himself on the monument which Sir James Ware says that he placed in his cathedral shortly before his death. At page 485 of vol. i. of Ware's *Antiquities*, edited by Harris, I find

"He [Milerus] died in December 1622 [i.e., the month after he had made his will, having been bedridden for two years]. In his lifetime he erected a monument to himself in the Cathedral of Cashell opposite to that of Edmund Butler. [1]It is placed on a high basis on the south side of the Choir, between the Episcopal throne and the altar; on which is his Effigies cut in stone in high relief; his mitre on his head, and his pastoral staff in his hand. On the one side of his head is the carved image of an Angel, as the like was once on the other side, but is now defaced. Above his head are his arms, and at his feet the image of Christ on the Cross; at the top thereof inscribed I N R I. At his right elbow is the image of Saint Patrick

[1] Interpolated by Harris.

slightly engraved, with his pastoral staff and mitre on one side, S on the other, P underneath. On the verge of the monument is cut the name of the architect:

Patricius Kearin fecerat illud opus.
Patrick Kearin made this monument.

And on an inscriptional plate is to be read this epitaph of his own composition:

Mileri Magrath, Archepiscopi Cashelensis ad viatorem Carmen,
Venerat in Dunum primo sanctissimus olim,
Patricius, nostri gloria magna soli,
Huic ego succedens utinam tam sanctus ut ille,
Sic Duni primo tempore Presul eram,
Anglia, lustra decem sed post tua sceptra colebum,
Principibus placui, Marte tonante tuis,
Hic ubi sum positus non sum, sum non ubi, non sum
Sum nec in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco. 1621.
Dominus est, qui me judicat.—1 Cor. 4.
Qui stat, caveat ne cadat.

"The epitaph bears this sense in English:

Patrick, the glory of our isle and gown,
First sat a Bishop in the See of Down.
I wish that I, succeeding him in place,
As Bishop, had an equal share of grace.
I served thee, England, fifty years in jars,
And pleased thy princes in the midst of wars.
Here, where I'm placed, I'm not, and thus the case is,
I'm not in both, yet am in both the places. 1621.
He that judgeth me is the Lord.—1 Cor. 4.
Let him who stands take care lest he fall."

Ware observes that the Roman Catholics had a tradition that Magrath was not buried in this tomb, but secretly elsewhere, on the apparent authority of the two last verses, and that he had been reconciled to Rome. He, however, thought otherwise, and did not himself doubt the sincerity of Magrath's conversion to the doctrines of the Reformation.

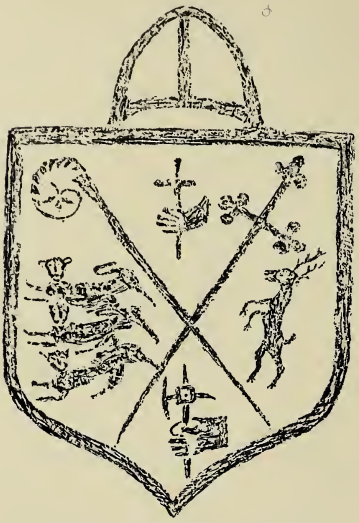
It will be observed that the Archbishop had caused himself to be habited on his tomb in the full Roman vestments, mitred, and bearing an archiepiscopal cross, and not in the usual vestments of a Protestant bishop at that period.

I may now notice the funeral entries of Miler Magrath's descendants —or those in which their names appear. In the fifth vol. of the Funeral Entries in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, we find at page 131:

"John O'Dwyer of Drumdromy in the county of Tipperary, esq., deceased the [ ] January 1627. He had to wife Joan, daughter of Walter Butler, 4th brother of Thomas Butler, Erle of Ormond, by whome had issue, Philip, hath to wife Giles, daughter of Milerius Magrath, sometime Archbishope of Cashell; Connor; Donagh; Margret and Winfred."

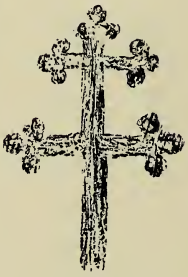
In the same vol., page 140, there is a blank shield with the words "The fees and certificat by Ulster taken," "Bryan Magrath, esq.,

deceased ye [ ]." (This follows an entry of the year 1629.) Again, at page p. 211, there occurs a duplicate entry, except that the words are varied to "The fees received by Ulster."

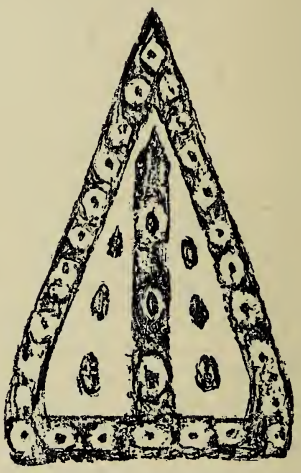


THE ARMS AT THE HEAD OF EFFIGY, MAGRATH'S MONUMENT.

CROSS ON BREAST OF ARCHBISHOP.



HEAD OF ARCHIEPISCOPAL CROSS.



THE MITRE ON THE HEAD OF THE EFFIGY OF MAGRATH.

HAND FROM EFFIGY RAISED IN BENEDICTION.

EFFIGY OF SAINT PATRICK FROM THE BACK OF MONUMENT.

From rubbings by F. J. B.

In vol. vi, p. 41, is a F.E., with a shield under the name of Bowen. On the dexter side is a stag lodged. On the sinister side, blank. Then follows:

"Ales daughter of Walter Harpole of Rochester in Kent, gent. She deceased the 4th of June 1634. She was married to Robert Bowein of Bally Adams in the Queens

county esq., by whom she had issue Sir John Bowen knt. He had to wife Elis, daughter of the Rt. Revd. Father in God, Milerius Magrath, sometyme Lord Archbishop of Cassell," etc.

In vol. vi, p. 144, is found :

"Brian Magrath of Bleane in the county of Tipperary gent, 4th sonne borne of Milerius Magrath late Archbishopp of Cashell, but by the death of James Magrath, 3rd son of the said Archbishopp, which James died without issue. The said Bryan tooke to wife Mary, daughter of Dermot O'Dwyer of Kilinmanagh in the said county of Tipperary esq., by whom he had issue six sonnes and two daughters, viz., Marcus, sonne and heire, Philip 2nd sonn, James 3rd sonne, Redmond 4th sonne, Matthew 5th sonne, Bryan sixt sonne. Mary, the eldest daughter, and Giles the second, as yet unmarried.

"The said Bryan departed this mortall life at Ballennety, in the said county of Limerick, the [ ] of September 1633, and was interred at Cashell aforesaid. The trueth of the premises is testified by the subscription of the said Markes, sonne and heire aforesaid, who hath returned this certificat, to be recorded in the office of Uluester King of Armes. Taken this 25th day of May, 1637."

In vol. vii, p. 16, Marcus Magrath is mentioned; but there is a fuller entry concerning him in vol. viii, p. 16; viz.:

"Marcus Magrath of Killinallowse, in the county of Tipperary, gentleman, 4th son of Miles als Milerus Magrath, some tyme Archbishopp of Cashell. The said Marcus tooke to wife Katherine daughter of Thomas Butler of Ardmaile, in the said county, esq., by whom he had issue two sonnes and two daughters, videlicet, Myles, eldest sonne, married to Anne, daughter of Edward Southwell, of Castlemattress, in the county of Limerick, esquire, by whom he hath issue four daughters: Donough, 2nd sonne of the first mentioned Marcus, as yett unmarried. Ellen, eldest daughter of the said Marcus, married to Mortagh MacBrien of Clogdalton, in the said county of Limerick, gent, by whome she hath issue sons and daughters. Katherin, second daughter of the said Marcus, married to James Grady of Ballewolhale in the said county of [ ], gent, by whome she hath sonnes and daughters.

"The said Marcus tooke to his second wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Spring of Killagha, in the county of Kerry, esq., by whome he had issue, four sonns and one daughter, viz., James, eldest by his second wife; Thomas, second; Brien, third; and Marcus, fourth; and Frances, the daughter, all as yet unmarried.

"The said first named Marcus departed this mortall life at Killinallowse aforesaid, about the 14th April 1639, and was interred in the cathedral church of Emmely, in the county of Tipperary, the 15th of the same monneth. The truth of the premises is testified by the subscription of Myles Magrath, eldest sonn and heire of the said defunct, who hath returned this certificat into my office to be there recorded. Taken by me, Thomas Preston esq., Ulster King of Arms, the 7th of August 1639."

In vol. vii, p. 188, we find :

"Maurice Hurly of Knocklongy, co. Limerick, esq., married thirdly, Amy, daughter of Tirlagh Magrath of Ayliwullane in county Tipperary—by whom he had issue 'sons and daughters.'"

In vol. vii, p. 224, we find :

"Edmund Butler of Boyton Rath, county Tipperary, esq., great grandson of James, Lord Baron of Dunboyne, married Dorothy, daughter of Keana O'Carroll of Buolybreach, King's County, gent, by whom he had . . . Katherin, 3rd daughter, married to John Magrath sonne of Thomas Magrath of Kilmacknagh county Limerick, gent."

Another entry in vol. viii, p. 224, says :

"Edmond Butler of Boynton Rath, co. Tipperary, eldest sonne and heire of James Butler of Greallagh, in said county, eldest sonne and heire of Pierce Butler of Greallagh

aforesaid, esq, second son of James, sometimes Lord Baron of Dunboyne, had by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Keane O'Carroll of Buolybreach in the King's County, gentleman, two sons and eight daughters, of whom Katherine fifth daughter married to John Magrath of Kilmackuagh, county Limerick, gentleman."

I have not noted the date for either of the two last entries, which seem to relate to the same person; but vol. vii, it will have been observed, has entries of 1639. I think that the funeral entries do not go beyond some time in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and therefore afford no assistance in tracing later descents of Miler Magrath's descendants.

I may conclude with a few remarks about the devolution of the Termon-Magrath estates.

In the Calendar of State Papers, 1609, p. 324 (No. 592), we find, under date 30 Nov., a note of a commission of surrender and sale of lands on defective titles. In the list are Redmond Magrath, and Milerus, Archbishop of Cashell.

I am not sure, but I suppose that these lands may have been the Termon-Magrath estate. If so, Leicester's title must have been treated as void. But this is not the only instance I have found of two different people having grants of the same estate: e.g., my own estate in Tyrone, of which Sir Pierce Crosbye and Sir William Ussher both had grants at the same time.

In or about the following year (1610), the Archbishop's third son, James, received a new grant of Termon Magrath on the usual Plantation conditions; and I think there is not much doubt that he built, in accordance with them, the castle, the ruins of which, near the shores of Lough Erne, were illustrated in the last number of this Journal.

When Bishop Spottiswoode visited Lough Derg in 1632, the owner of the estate was one Master James Magrath, who I suppose to have been the patentee's nephew—son of Marcus; for the elder James died before his brother Marcus, who died in 1633, as shown above. The younger James seems to have alienated the estate to Bishop Spottiswoode, for the benefit of the See of Clogher, at some later date, as I show in another paper about that bishop. Spottiswoode leased the estate—about 30,000 statute acres—to his son, for a small head rent. But in addition to that, there would have been the annual fines, on the yearly renewals of the 21 years' leases, annually surrendered and renewed. After the passing of Lord Stanley's Church Temporalities Act, between 60 and 70 years ago, the executors of Colonel Leslie of Glaslough, the then owner of the lease, would have purchased the perpetuity, partly by paying a considerable lump sum, and partly by

a very large increase of the rent. Under the Irish Church Act, 1869, the present owner could, if he pleased, have converted this rent into a sinking fund annuity (and may probably have done so), paying down a lump sum equal to 25 per cent. of the rent capitalized at 25 years' purchase.

Some years ago a dispute arose between Sir John Leslie, the owner, and the late Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, as to the right of those in possession and occupation of Station Island, in Lough Derg, to extend the buildings on the island beyond high-water mark of the lough. This was settled by a compromise, before the case came on for hearing in court; and the pilgrimages are still in annual operation. The original Plantation settlers appear to have been Scotchmen.

Kilbarron Castle and Church, Co. Donegal.

By F. W. Lockwood.

WHO has not heard of the "Four Masters" and their immortal Annals? The writer does not profess to offer any more information about them than what the world already is in possession of, but a brief description of their residence, and of the humble fane in which they once worshipped, may be of some interest.

Northward from the mouth of the Erne, along the shore of Donegal Bay, runs for several miles a range of perpendicular cliffs, and perched upon the highest and most overhanging spot of these, just three miles as the crow flies from the town of Ballyshannon, stand the remains of Kilbarron Castle. Here the O'Clerys, staunch henchmen and historians of the great O'Donnell, with the Atlantic waves roaring continually under their feet, had their residence. Two of them, "mid briar and nettle bed," still lie beneath a shattered moss-covered slab, upon which the date 1666 can faintly be traced, in the graveyard which is nearly all that is now left of the once famous abbey of Assaroe.

The site of the castle as indicated by the plan, more than half-surrounded by the sea, possessed, before the days of artillery, many advantages for defence. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should

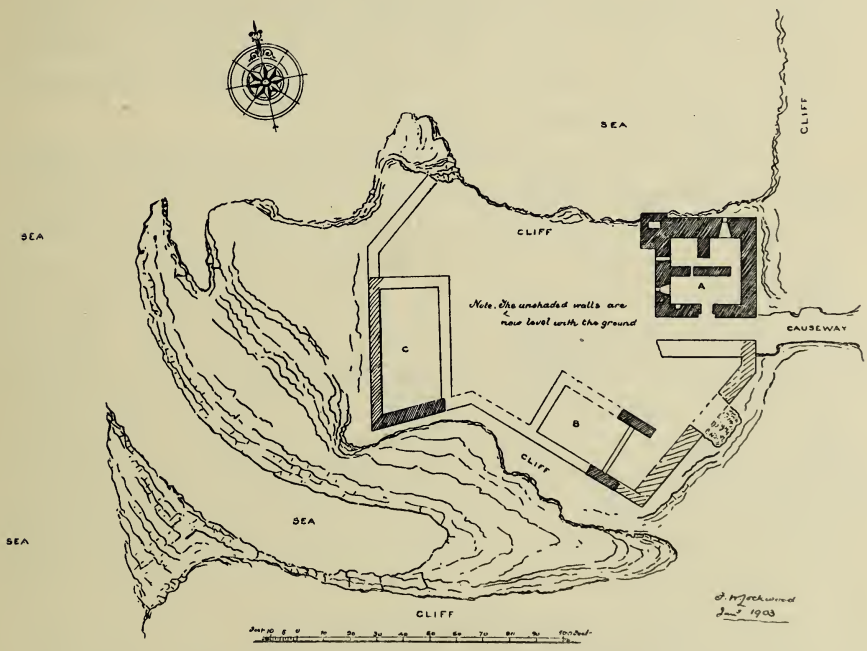
have been early pitched upon as a stronghold. Little seems to have been known, however, of its early history. The Annals of the Four Masters record that, in 1390, "Cil Barraine" was demolished by Donal MacMortagh, one of the O'Connors of Sligo, who were almost always at feud with Tyrconnell and his tributaries. This is also approximately the date given for the reception of young O'Clery into the family of the aged Matthew O'Sgingin, the then lord of Kilbarron, whose daughter he married. He thus became successor to the duties of O'Sgingin's only son, slain not long before, probably in one of the constant wars with the same O'Connor who destroyed the castle. At any rate the existing ruins are clearly coeval with the family of the O'Clerys. They witnessed their rise, they shared for over two centuries in their fortunes, and partook of their downfall.

The ruins are too far dilapidated for us to decide whether all the foundations which can now be traced date from the probable restoration at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. There is, however, nothing to prevent our supposing them to have been the work of this first of the O'Clerys. These indicate a stronghold of considerable extent and importance, enclosing an upper and a lower garth or compound. The lower or seaward enclosure, however, slopes so steeply to the sea, as to be of little use except for the temporary accommodation of three or four sheep or other hardy animals.

So far as can be gathered from such remains as are now visible, the principal buildings were on the landward side, as are marked A and B on the plan. There is nothing now to show whether these were connected by a cross building, or by the massive curtain wall bounded by a ditch which is all that is now visible. The south-west building also (C) is now so far ruined, that it is impossible to tell whether it was originally equal in height to A and B or not.

From all that can now be seen of the remains, they can have differed but little from the majority of rude castles that were erected in Ireland outside the pale of Anglo-Norman influence—strong enough to resist a "border foray," but certainly not to stand a prolonged or scientific siege. One wonders, not only here, but in many other of the small Irish fortresses, how their inmates made shift for a supply of water. The writer has known Martello towers, built in the nineteenth century amidst sea-sand and salt marshes, that were dependent upon their own rainfall for a water supply. Possibly many of these castles, in a more humid climate, also stored their rainfall. There is at any rate no indication of a regular built well.

Lying somewhat aside from the great stream of war and traffic between the headquarters of the O'Donnells and the O'Connors, Kilbarron was not ill-adapted for the cultivation of the Muses, nor yet too far away for the practice of the genial rites of hospitality. In the two centuries of their career there is more than one notice of the O'Clerys to prove they possessed something beyond the character of the ordinary Irish chieftain, and that they honourably filled the office of the Ollaves of Tyrconnell. They kept here "a school of literature, a school of history, and a school of poetry." The Annals record that Tuathal O'Clery, "learned in history and poetry," who kept a house of



PLAN OF KILBARRON CASTLE AND SURROUNDINGS.

general hospitality for "rich and poor," died in 1512, "after extreme unction and repentance." Fifteen years later another O'Clery, probably the son of the former, died in the monastery of Donegal, whither, in accordance with the customs of the age, he had probably retired. He is described as "a man distinguished in the arts, history, and poetry, and respected, rich, and affluent." Clearly the race was in training for their great achievements of the succeeding century.

We need do little more than simply refer to the closing scenes of Kilbarron and the O'Clerys: how Red Hugh O'Donnell died in

Spain in 1602; how the English, under Captain Digges, took Ballyshannon Castle (of which now the name only remains) in 1603. The abbey of Donegal had several years before fallen into English hands and been partly destroyed by an accidental explosion. The flight of the Earls of Tyrconnell and of Tyrone from Lough Swilly followed in 1607, and the O'Clerys, without doubt, shared their fortunes.

Ballyshannon was incorporated after the English manner in 1613, and many English adventurers settled there, some of them bearing honoured names, which still survive. Captain Henry Ffolliott, made Baron Ffolliott of Ballyshannon, became possessed of the O'Clerys' and other estates. As part of his tenure he was bound to keep the castles of Ballyshannon and Bundrowes (near Bundoran) in repair, free of cost to the Crown. But as, with the English occupation, Kilbarron must have ceased to be of any further strategic importance, it was probably abandoned to decay.

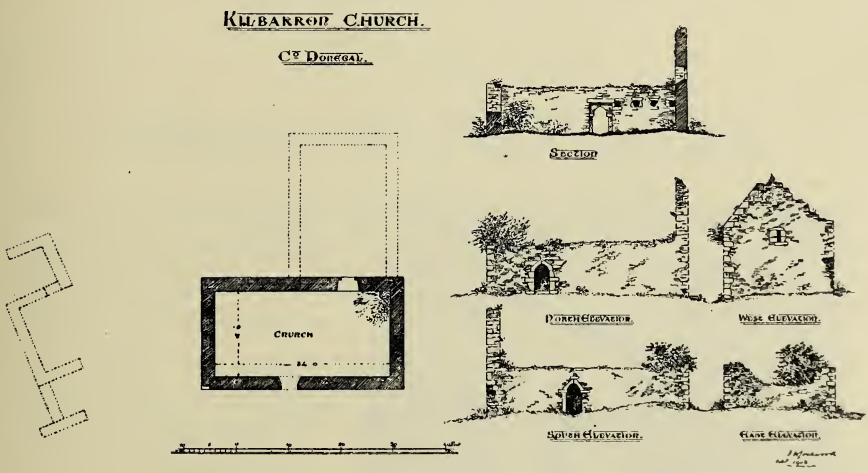
In 1632, as we know, Michael O'Clery and his colleagues began their work upon the Annals in the abbey of Donegal, where some sort of irregular toleration still appears to have continued. An interesting illustration of the state of things in the same part of the county at this date is given by the reports in the same year submitted about the station known as St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg. This was the year of Sir W. Stewart's report upon the "fooleries," as he termed them, which went on at the Purgatory. It was also the same year in which the Privy Council instructed Bishop Spottiswoode to suppress them. His account of the hardships he suffered, and the difficulties he met with in trying to accomplish his task, forms interesting and humorously pathetic reading. But it need not be surprising that four quiet and unobtrusive students should have been unmolested in the prosecution of their work of historic compilation.

Considerably under a mile in a direct line from the castle stands the old church of Kilbarron. It is humble and unpretentious, and, like most of the smaller Irish churches, a simple parallelogram, having an internal dimension of about 34 feet by 16 feet.

There are now no indications even of a chancel, and it must have been even more windowless than the majority of the dark churches of the same type. So far as can be guessed, now that so much of the east gable has fallen, the only light may, or must, have come from one or perhaps two narrow windows in the east end above the altar. There are none in either the north or the south walls.

High up in the west gable is a narrow slit, but it is a question

whether the church derived any light from this. On each side of the western part of the north and south walls are four holes, to take the ends of beams. The floor which these supported, even if open to the church, would have shut off nearly all the light, scanty at the best, from this slit. In churches of a very early date there are instances, such as St. Columba's house at Kells, and St. Donlough's near Dublin, of an apartment for the ecclesiastic over the church. These instances are of much earlier date than the present building, which is apparently of fourteenth-century age, when such a custom had ceased (if it ever was) to be common. Moreover, there are the remains of several buildings both to the north and west of this church, giving an indication that it partook of a conventual character. The building on the north



communicated with the church by the north doorway. Those on the west were apparently detached; but the foundations that remain are of so fragmentary a nature, that it is practically impossible now to guess at their purpose.

The two doors apparently indicate a structure of the later fourteenth century, and are perfectly plain, without any mouldings. The arrangement is not unlike, although much plainer in its details, that of the church and abbey of Bun-na-Margie, near Ballycastle, a building also nearly of this date, that has a public doorway about the middle of the south wall, and another door in the north wall, very near the east end, leading to a conventual building on the north side. Kilbarron was, however, in every way a less important structure.

Some of the traditions so common in the west, of buried treasure and occult influences, attach to this church. It is related how, at dead of night, and in profound secrecy, two men met here, with pick and spade, and lanthorn, and commenced to dig. In due time, of course, they met with a massive stone, and, their hopes rising each moment, essayed to lift it. When lo, a violent gust extinguished the light, and dashed men and tools to the ground. Then they arose and fled, pursued by a raging storm, even to their home, the doors of which were dashed in fiercely by the blast. The treasure still reposes in its storehouse unrifled. The interesting Park Fort, with its thick stone ramparts, the Corker giant's grave, and the fairies' thorn, described in a recent number of the Journal, are all within three or four fields of this church.

Alexander Peden, the "Prophet."

"PEDEN THE PROPHET."
(Block lent by James Waldie, J.P.)

A LITTLE book entitled *Alexander Peden, the Prophet of the Covenant: an appreciation*,[1] has drawn our attention to this enthusiast of the seventeenth century. He had been known to us before by casual references, more or less concealed or apologetic, in the works of Irish Presbyterian historians; but to have him turned into a prophet, a martyr, almost a saint, whose "relics" are held up for "veneration," naturally drove us to make further inquiries in the interests of truth, as the "prophet" was a visitor to our shores, and resided in Antrim for a considerable time. We were fortunate in

[1] Glasgow: James C. Erskine & Sons. 1902.

securing a short "Life" of Peden, printed in Belfast, which sets out fully the episodes in his life, and this we produce verbatim with the title-page, as the book is of considerable rarity. It is doubtless a reprint of an earlier book. Of course we only give the portion referring to Ireland, and it is sufficient.

The following is the title-page:

SOME

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

MR. ALEXANDER PEDEN,

Late Minister of the Gospel at NEW GLEN LUCE in Galloway.

Singular for Piety, Zeal, and Faithfulness; but he especially exceeded all to be heard of in our late Ages, in that Gift of forseeing events, and foretelling what was to befal the Churches and Nations of Scotland and Ireland; particular Families and Persons; and what was to happen in his own Life, and at his Death. As a few Instances among many through his Life, take these that follow.

JUD. ii. 10. And also all that Generation was gathered unto their Fathers, and there arose another generation after them which knew not the Lord, nor yet the Works which he had done for Israel. Psal. xli. 1, lxxviii. 3, 4.

Belfast:

PRINTED BY SIMMS & M'INTYRE.

"Shortly after that stroke at Bothwell, he went to Ireland, but did not stay long at that time. In his travels through Galloway, he came to a house, and looked in the good-man's face, and said, They call you an honest man, but if you be so you look not like it, you will not long keep that name, but will discover yourself to be what you are. And shortly thereafter he was made to flee for stealing of sheep. In that short time he was in Ireland, the Government required of all presbyterian ministers in Ireland that they should give it under their hands, that they had no accession to the late rebellion at Bothwell Bridge in Scotland, and they did not approve of it, which the most part did, and sent Mr. Thomas Gowans a Scotsman, and one Mr. Paton from the

north of Ireland to Dublin, to present it to the lord lieutenant; the which when Mr. Peden heard, he said, Mr. Gowans and his brother Paton are sent and gone the Devil's errand, but God shall arrest them by the gate. Accordingly, Mr. Gowans by the way was struck with a sore sickness, and Mr. Paton fell from his horse, and broke or crushed his leg; and both of them were detained beyond expectation. I had this account from some worthy christians when I was in Ireland.

"In the year 1682, he married John Brown in Kyle at his own house in Prest-hall, that singular christian, upon Marion Weir. After marriage he said to the bride, Marion, you have a good man to your husband, but you will not enjoy him long; prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding-sheet, for you will need it when you are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one. This came sadly to pass in the beginning of May 1685, as afterwards shall be made appear.

"After this in the year 1682, he went to Ireland again, and came to the house of William Steel of Glenwhurry, in the county of Antrim; he enquired at Mrs. Steel, if she wanted a servant for threshing victuals? she said she did, and enquired what his wages were a day or week? He said, the common rate was a common rule to which he assented. That night he was put to the barn, to bed with the servant lad; and that night he spent in prayer, and groaning up and down the barn; on the morrow he threshed victuals with the lad; and next night he spent the same way; the second day, in the morning, the lad said to his mistress, this man sleeps none, but groans and prays all night; I get no sleep with him; he threshes very well, and is not sparing of himself, tho' I think he has not been used with it, for he can do nothing to the bottling and ordering of the barn, and when I put the barn in order he goes to such a place, and there he prays for the afflicted church of Scotland, and names so many people in the furnace. He wrought the second day, his mistress watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had said; at night she desired her husband to enquire if he was a minister? which he did and desired him to be free with him, and he should not only be no enemy, but a friend to him. Mr. Peden said, he was not ashamed of his office, and gave account of his circumstances. He was no more set to work, nor to lie with the lad, he stayed a considerable time in that place, and was a blest instrument in the conversion of some, and civilizing of others, though the place was noted for a wild rude people; and the fruits of his labours appear to this day. There was a servant lass in that house, that he could not look upon but with frowns; and sometimes when at

family worship, he said, pointing to her with a frowning countenance, you come from the barn and from the byar reeking in your lust, and sits down among us, we do not want you or any such. At last he said to William Steel and his wife, put away this unhappy lass from your house, for she will be a stain to your family, for she is with child, and will murther it, and will be punished for the same. Which accordingly came to pass, and was burnt[1] at Carrickfergus, which is the usual punishment of murtherers of children there. I had this account from John Muirhead, who stayed much in that house, and other christian people when I was in Ireland.

"On the 2d day of August, 1684, he was in a christian Scotswoman's house, called Margaret Lumbernor, that day there was an extraordinary shower of big hail, such as he had never seen the like. She said, What can be the meaning of this extraordinary hail? he said, Within a few years there would be an extraordinary storm and shower of Judgments poured out upon Ireland; but Meg, said he, you shall not live to see it; and accordingly she died before the Rebellion, and the rest had a sad accomplishment at Derry and the water of Boyn.

"On the 3d of February, 1685, he was in the house of one Mr. Verner, in the same country; at night, he and John Kirkpatrick, Mrs. Verner's father, a very old worthy christian, he said to him, John, the world may well want you and me; but John said, Sir I have been very fruitless and useless all my days, and the world may well want me, but your death would be a great loss; well John, you and I will be both in heaven, but your body will have the advantage of mine, for ye will get rest in your grave till the resurrection. But for me, I must go home to the bloody land, (for this was his ordinary way of speaking, bloody, or sinful land, when he spoke of Scotland) and die there, and the enemies, out of their great wickedness, will lift my corpse to another place; but I am very indifferent John, for I know my body shall lie among the dust of the Martyrs, and though they should take my old bones and make whistles of them, they will be all gathered together in the morning of the resurrection; and then John, you and I, and all that will be found having on Christ's righteousness, will get day about with them, and give our hearty assent to their eternal sentence of damnation. The same night, after this discourse, while about family worship, about ten or eleven of the clock, explaining the portion of Scripture he read, he suddenly halted, and hearkened, and

[1] This was probably branding.

said three times over, 'What's this I hear?' and hearkened again a little time, and clapt his hands and said, 'I hear a dead shot at the throne of Britain, let him go yonder, he has been a black sight to these lands, especially poor Scotland, we're well quit of him. There has been many a wasted prayer waired on him.' And it was concluded, that on the same hour, of that night, that unhappy man Charles the II died. I had this account from John Muirhead and others who were present, and confirmed in the truth of them by some worthy Christians, when I was in Ireland.

"Upon the fourth of February following, 1685, he preached at a wood side near the said Mr. Verner's house, read the whole of the 59th Psalm; after reading, he charged his hearers that none of them open their mouths to sing, but those who could do it knowingly and believingly; for some few lines few opened their mouth, but as John Muirhead and John Waddel, who were present, two solid Christians, and great sufferers, who lived and died in the parish of Cambusnethen, or Shots, said to me, They, and the greater part could not contain and forbear singing, but break out with their hearts and whole strength; so that they were never witness to such loud singing, through the whole Psalm. After singing, in his preface he cried out 'Pack, and let us go to Scotland, pack, and let us flee to Scotland, let us flee from one devouring sword and go to another; the poor honest lads in Scotland are running upon the hills and have little either of meat or drink, but cold and hunger, and the enemy are pursuing them and murdering them wherever they find them. Their blood is running like water upon scaffolds and fields; Rise, let us go and take part with them, for fear they bar us out of Heaven. O, secure Ireland, a dreadful day is coming upon thee within a few years, they shall ride many miles, and shall not see a reeking house in thee. O hunger, hunger in Derry—many a black and pale face shall be in thee, and fire, fire upon a town, whose name I have forgot, which was all burnt to ashes. And for the profanity of England and a formality and security of Ireland, for the loathing and contempt of the Gospel, covenant-breaking, and burning, and shedding of innocent blood in Scotland none of these lands shall escape e're all be done. But notwithstanding of all this, I'll tell you good news, keep in mind this year, month, and day, and remember that I told you, that the enemies have got a shot beneath the right wing, and they may rise and fly like a shot bird, but e're this day seven years the strongest of them all shall fall.' Then upon the sixth he was in that wood all day, and at

night he came into the same Mr. Verner's house, where several of our Scots sufferers were; he said, why are you so discouraged? I know you have got ill news of the dreadful murther of your friends in Scotland; but I'll tell you good news. That unhappy treacherous lecherous man, who has made the Lord's people in Scotland tremble these years by gone, has got his last glut in a lordly dish from his brother, and he's lying with cold in his mouth. The news of this came not to Ireland for 24 hours thereafter. The aforesaid John Muirhead and John Waddel, and other of our Scots sufferers who had heard him preach the sabbath before, conceived that this was the shot under the right wing that he spoke of; Charles II died the Friday night before.

"After this he longed to be out of Ireland, where thro' the tearful apprehension of that dismal day of rebellion in Ireland that came upon it in two years thereafter, and that he might take part with the sufferers of Scotland, he came near the coast one morning. John Muirhead came to him, lying within a hedge, he said, Have you any news, John. John said, there is great fears of the Irish rising; he said, No, no, the time of their rising's not yet; but they will rise, and dreadful will it be at last. He was long detained waiting for a bark, not daring to go to the public ports, but to some remote creek of the sea. Alexander Gordon of Kinkuir in Galloway had agreed with one; but Mr. Peden would not sail the seas with him, Mr. Peden having somewhat of the foresight of what he did prove afterwards. In the beginning of August before this Kinstuir was relieved at Enreekin Path, going from Dumfries to Edinburgh prisoner, when the news of it came to Ireland, our Scots sufferers their acquaintance, were glad of the news, especially that Kinstuir was escaped. He said, What means all this Kinstuiring, Kinstuiring? there's some of them relieved there that one of them is worth many of him, ye'd all be ashamed of him or all be done. Being in this strait, he said to Robert Wark, who is yet alive near Glasgow, an old worthy Christian worthy of credit, Robert, go and take such a man with you, and the first ye can find compel them, for they will be like the dogs of Egypt, not one of them will move their tongue against you. Accordingly, Robert and his comrade found it so, and brought her to that secret place where he was; Robert and his comrade came and told him; he was glad, and very kind and free; he seemed to be under a cloud at that time; he said, lads, I have lost my prospect wherewith I was wont to look over to the bloody-land, and tell you and others what enemies and friends were doing. The

Devil and I puddles and rides time about upon others; but if I were uppermost again I shall ride hard and spur gall well. I've been praying for some time for a swift passage over to the sinful land, come of us what will, and now Alexander Gordon is away with my prayer wind, but it were good for the remnant in Scotland, he never saw it, for as the Lord lives, he shall wound that interest e're he go off the stage; which sadly came to pass in his life, and was a reproach to it at his death. A little before they came off he baptized a child to John Maxwell a Glasgow man, who was fled over from persecution. In his discourse before baptism he burst out in a rapture, foretelling that black day that came upon Ireland and sad days upon Scotland; the mother of the child is yet alive in Glasgow, who told me this, that in the time he was asserting these things she was thinking and wondering what ground or assurance he had for them; he cryed aloud, and shaking his hand at her, said, woman, thou art thinking and wondering within thyself, whether I be speaking those things out of visions of my own head, or if I be taught by the spirit of God. But I tell thee woman, that thou shalt live and see that I am not mistaken. She told me that she was lately delivered, and out of her great desire to have her child baptized before he came off, that she took travail too soon, and being weak and so surprised with telling her the thought of her heart, that she was in danger of falling off the chair. At this exercise also he told them that he could not win off till he had this done, and that this was all the drink money he had to leave in Ireland, and to the family, pointing to his landlord, for all the kindness he had met with from him. After baptism they got breakfast; there was plenty of bread upon the table, and seeking a blessing he put his hands beneath the bread, holding it up with much affection and tears, said, Lord, there is a well covered table and plenty of bread, but what comes of the poor, young, kindly, honest lad Renwick that shames us all; in staying and holding up his fainting swooning mother's head now when all the children she has brought forth, there's none will avowedly take her by the hand; and the poor cold hungry lads upon the hills, for the honour of their own cause let them not starve; thou causedst a ravenous beast greedy of flesh itself to feed Elijah and thou fed thy people in the wilderness with Angel's food, and blessed a few loaves and small fishes and made them sufficient for many, and had experience of want, weariness, cold, and hunger, and enemies daily hunting for thy life while in the world; look to them and provide for them; we'll all get the black stone for leaving him and them.

"The waiters being advertised of the barque in that place they and other people came upon them, which obliged them that were to come off to secure the waiters and people altogether for fear of the garrison of Carrickfergus apprehending them, being near to it, which obliged them to come off immediately however it might be with them. After that twenty six of our Scots sufferers came aboard; he stood upon the deck and prayed, being not the least of wind, where he made a rehearsal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and answered them in the day of their distress, and now they were in great strait, waving his hand to the west, from whence he desired the wind, said, Lord give us a loof-full of wind, fill the sails, Lord give us a fresh gale, and let us have a swift and safe passage over to the bloody land come of us what will. John Muirhead, Robert Wark, and others, that were present, told me that when he began to pray, the sails were all hanging straight down, but e're he ended they were like blown bladders; they put out the waiters and other people, and got a very swift and safe passage. The twenty six Scots sufferers that were with him having provided themselves with arms, before their return to Scotland. There being then such noise of killing, and indeed the din was no greater than the deed, being in the heat of killing time. In the end of February, 1685, when at exercise one night in the barque, he said, Lord, thou knowest thir lads are hot spirited, lay an arrest upon them, that they may not appear. Their time is not yet, though Monmouth and Argyle be coming, they'll work no deliverance. At this time there was no report of their coming, and they came not for ten weeks thereafter. In the morning after they landed, he lectured before they parted, they sitting on a brae side, where he had fearful threatenings against Scotland, saying, the time was coming when they might travel many miles in Galloway and Nithsdale, Air, and Clidisdale, and not see a reeking house, nor hear a cock crow; and further said, that his soul trembled to think what would become of the indulged, backslidden, and upsitten ministers in Scotland, as the Lord lives, none of them should ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle, nor assert Christ's kingly prerogative as king and head of his church. To the same purpose said the never to be forgotten Donald Cargil, within eight hours of his martyrdom, that he feared tho' there were not another ministery on all the earth, he would make no more use of them in a national reformation but dreadful judgments upon themselves, and long curse upon their posterity. And Rutherford said in

his days, 1656, That sad and heavy were the judgments, and indignation from the Lord was abiding the unfaithful watchmen of Scotland, meaning the unhappy resolutioners; when ended, he prayed earnestly for many things, particularly that their Ireland sins might be buried in that place, and might not be spread with them through the sinful land.

"When the greater part took their farewell of him he said to the rest, to what house or place will we go? one Hugh Kennedy said, we will go to such an house; he said, Hewie, you will not get your nose set there, for the Devil and his bairns are there. Notwithstanding Hugh went, and found the house full of the enemies. And that night a woman of that house, made way of herself. Hugh came quickly back, and told him. He said, we'll go to such a house, I have an errand there. When they went the good wife was dying under great doubts and fears; where he was a blessed instrument of comfort to her. And said to Hugh, Hewie, this is the errand I had here.

"They went eastward somewhat contrair to his inclination, then came to the top of an hill upwards of two miles distant from the house to which they designed. He halted, and said, I will not go one foot further this way, there is undoubtedly danger before us. An herd lad being there, he gave him a groat, and desired him to go to that house, and fetch them meat and news; when the lad came to the house, the good wife hasted, and gave him meat to them, saying, lad run and tell them that the enemies are spread, and we are every minute looking for them here. As the lad was going from the house 18 of the enemies foot were near crying stand dog. The lad run, and six of them pursued half a mile, and fired hard upon him, the ball went close by his head, all that time Mr. Peden continued in prayer for him, himself, and with the rest, being 12 men, when praying with them, he said, Lord shall the poor lad that's going our errand, seeking bread to support our lives lose his; direct the bullets by his head, however near, let them not touch him, good Lord spare the lap of thy cloak, and cover the poor lad. And in this he was heard and answered, in that there was a dark cloud of mist parted him and them."

After reading this, which is practically an autobiography, we are told "That they were 'saints' these men, and in an eminent degree, goes without saying. The note of sanctity was there in all its fulness and intensity. But let us beware lest we rob these men, of whom the world was not worthy, of their distinguishing glory and excellence." We are satisfied to run this risk, for greater nonsense than this could

not be written. To put it in plain English, Peden was in our opinion a raving fanatic, and by no means a harmless one, and certainly not even a clean one. He is on a par with Glendinning, the preacher at Oldstone, County Antrim, whom his fellow-minister, Robert Blair of Bangor, depicts lying on his face on the earth "roaring out some prayers," and believing "that persons turning in bed after they fell asleep was an evidence of the want of the truth of Christianity . . . . and endeavouring to convert me [Blair] to his opinions, and even adventuring to put his foot in the fire in expectation of persuading me by a miracle; which I prevented by mere force."

Yet this man Glendinning was a revivalist along the banks of the Six Mile Water, and great crowds followed him. How can we then wonder at a similar enthusiasm being aroused by Peden, who was a much more pronounced individuality, and had always many followers, just as certain "prophets" have in our own time. The wrestling of Blair and Glendinning on the cabin floor of a settler's cottage in an Antrim valley is a by no means edifying spectacle. Blair was, we take it, too charitable to allow Glendinning to work his "miracle." Other and firmer restraint would be practised in these days. No one can doubt, however, that these men thoroughly believed in the cause they espoused, and that all beliefs but their own only led to damnation; and this has been clearly voiced in Leslie's "March," which was sung at Marston Moor, where one couplet triumphantly runs:

"That a' the world may see
There's nane in the right but we."

Scott says: "Upon these bigoted and persecuted fanatics are to be charged the wild anarchical principles of anti-monarchy and assassination which polluted the period when they flourished." We consider this a true estimate of the character of such men as Peden. The wildest incentives to bloodshed were delivered by these preachers. "God required the blood of the malignants to expiate the sins of the people" was a favourite phrase. Sir Thomas Urquhart was personally railed at from the pulpit by a clergyman, "more like a scolding tripe-seller's wife than a good minister," for nonconformity to the minister's views on religious matters. Peden's "prophetic" character is strongly in evidence in the case of John Brown, who was shot by Claverhouse's men as "an avowed and determined rebel, liable as such to military execution." On this occasion Peden prayed: "Lord when wilt thou avenge Brown's blood . . . . hasten the day when thou wilt avenge it . . . . and oh for that day when the Lord would avenge all their bloods."

Peden's references to King Charles II. were always what were then considered of a treasonable character, and doubtless caused a good deal of the "persecution" which he endured.

On Peden's first arrival in Ireland he was bitterly opposed to the Presbyterian ministers, declaring they had no part in the Scottish rebellion, and called the message of the delegates to Dublin to present a memorial to that effect "the Devil's errand"; and he gloats over the "sore sickness" of one of them and the breaking of the leg of the other, and their consequent detention. The narrative concerning William Steel's serving-maid in Glenwherry is disgusting and distressing; nothing could be more so or more un-Christian, except perhaps his "hearty assent to their eternal sentence of damnation"—meaning those who differed from him, and had not the prospects of "John you and I." Nothing more wicked than this could be penned by mortal man: the only extenuating plea we can imagine is religious mania. The subsequent scenes given in the quotation are of the same character; but one pervading desire was always with him—his desire for flight. In this respect he is a regular "Wandering Jew." His flight from Ireland has a picturesqueness about it that is rather refreshing. There he stands in his little boat with his twenty-six *armed* followers—"for fear of the garrison of Carrickfergus"—waving his hand, and crying, "Lord give us a loof-full of wind, fill the sails, Lord give us a fresh gale"; and ere he had ended, the sails, which had all been hanging straight down, were like blown bladders. His threatenings, and ravings, and "prophecies" at this time must have been something dreadful; but only the few are recorded which subsequent events seem to confirm.

Taking the whole surroundings into consideration, and Peden's undoubted influence on an excitable people, steeped to the lips in religious enthusiasm, both in the valleys of Galloway and the glens of Antrim, it is with some difficulty the impartial reader of the events of the period can arrive at any accurate judgment of the motives which influenced the principal actors.

There is, doubtless, much to be said on both sides, and Sir Walter Scott expresses his opinions in this vein. The political was so mingled with the religious, that the authorities had ample excuses for their severe measures; but these were only considered persecutions by the outlaws, and every execution was a martyrdom. Peden was, perhaps, the most acute figure of it all—a regular "Madhi" in his preachings and lecturings, without, perhaps, the skill, or the will, or the opportunity to carry them to the issue he so much desired.

"Whig", 5 Sept. 1903

ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

In the new number of the Ulster Journal of Archæology Lord Belmore continues (and concludes) his learned disquisition on the Castle and Territory of Termon-Magrath. He gives some further particulars of the career of that very slippery convert Miler Magrath, Bishop of Down, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel. Incidentally Lord Belmore reproduces a most interesting account of a visit paid to "St. Patrick's Purgatory" by a Papal Nuncio who visited England and Ireland in the time of Henry VIII. The other contents are below the usual mark. St. Patrick's Purgatory turns up again in an account of Kilbarron Castle, near Ballyshannon, by Mr. F. W. Lockwood. The district is of interest through its connection with the "Annals of the Four Masters." There is also a short article on the Castle and Bawn of Dungiven and a further series of reproductions of tombstones—all eighteenth or nineteenth century, and therefore scarcely reaching the dignity of archæology. Perhaps it is the lack of archæological matter which is responsible for the appearance of a wholly irrelevant article on "Alexander Peden, the Prophet of the Covenant"—an article which should not have found its way into the journal. That the Scottish Covenantors in general and Alexander Peden in particular were "raving fanatics," guilty of words and conduct "disgusting and distressing" to refined sensibilities, that they were "outlaws," and that Claverhouse and his dragoons "had ample excuses for their severe measures" are statements whose interest lies solely in the light they throw on the mental attitude of the writer, and his respect for the deepest religious feeling of a large section of the Scottish people and their descendants in Ulster. The journal opens with a notice that if the issue is to be continued in its present form a "material increase" in the number of subscribers is "absolutely necessary." We would suggest to the conductors of the journal —whose public spirit and eminent services to local archæology we have repeatedly acknowledged—that, if they expect to succeed in their task, future (and present) subscribers may reasonably ask for some assurance that they are subscribing to a journal of archæology and not to a magazine of sectarian controversy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

8 Sept. 1903.

"THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN WHIG.

Sir,—Allow me to thank you for the well-deserved rebuke you administer to-day to the editor of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology." I have been a subscriber from the first volume, and an occasional contributor to its pages, so that my interest in it is altogether friendly. I have been deeply pained to observe of late in almost every number open or covert attacks on Presbyterianism. Indeed, more than one subscriber has remarked to me that the journal is fast developing into a "parish magazine" of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In a magazine supposed to be strictly nonsectarian and undenominational, and having subscribers of various religious persuasions, religious controversy is altogether out of place, and in my opinion is in exceedingly bad taste.—Yours, &c.,

A. Albert Campbell.

4, Waring Street, Belfast,
September 5th, 1903.

"Belfast Evg Telegraph", 7.9.03.

"The Ulster Journal of Archæology."

Any contribution which the Earl of Belmore makes to the elucidation of the social and political condition of Ulster since the Plantation is sure to receive the most careful attention. He has already with great liberality furnished forth from the private records of a long line of predecessors in Fermanagh many interesting details of great value to students of Ulster history. For instance, his history of the manors of Coole and Finagh gives about the only connected idea we have of a Plantation manors' history. In the current number of the "Ulster Journal of Archæology" the noble lord deals with the castle and territory of Termon Magrath in his favourite county. Since the publication of the first part in the previous number some discussion arose with regard to the conversion of Miler Magrath to the principles of the Reformation. Miler, besides being an Irish chief, was a Roman Catholic bishop, and subsequently Protestant Archbishop of Cashel. The writer is enabled to come to a clearer conclusion, which will be generally approved of—that Irish Protestantism in Elizabeth's reign was of a political and official character, and that Magrath's conversion was nominal and perfunctory. Mr. F. W. Lockwood has already done much good work in investigating and delineating for our instruction some of the architectural remains in South Donegal. In the present number he gives us an interesting account with sketches of Kilbarron Castle and the old church some distance away on the coast between Ballyshannon and Donegal town. It is with pleasure we observe that "annals in stone"

are receiving due attention. Those in graveyards are in some places the only records whereby to trace family history. Such inscriptions are of the greatest value in interpreting local registers. The editor, Mr. F. J. Bigger, and Mr. Herbert Hughes continue their careful work among County Antrim armorial sculptured stones. Mr. E. M. Boyle is to be commended for his exertions among some of the County Derry estates, such as that of the Skinners' proportion, which he handles well in this number. The most singular article to the end is that on Peden, the "prophet." The writer alludes to an appreciation of Peden recently printed in Glasgow, which led to inquire further into this remarkable man during the "killing time" in Scotland. He seems to think he has made a discovery in publishing the title page and a long quotation from a Belfast-printed "Life" of Peden, which is none other than a reprint of that famous work of Patrick Walker, of which there were at least two Irish editions. Furthermore, the writer is seemingly unaware of the fact that Hodder and Stoughton published lately a work in two volumes, entitled "Six Saints of the Covenant," the greater part of which is devoted to Peden's life. In spite of Scott's well-known bias, he writes down Patrick Walker's account of the "Sufferings" as the best of all contemporary narratives of the time, and it is for this reason, no doubt, that so many editions have seen the light since 1725, and that some of the leading literature of the 19th century owes much to the quaint brusque stories of the Scottish Covenanter. The writer of the article in question seems to have been rather hasty in forming such an estimate of Peden's character, and believing that the persecutions for religious sake in Scotland were justifiable. Sometimes it is forgotten that we should not judge these rough people by the standard of the present age; that one hundred years had not passed since the cessation of border warfare; that the Scottish people were steeped to the lips in "Old Testament teachings;" and that the forcing of a religious form foreign to the spirit of the people might have been as detrimental to the interests of the country as the employment of a similar policy has been in Ireland. It was, without doubt, a time of narrowness in religious views as in England, and can it be wondered at that there was also a bitterness of spirit when the Scottish Privy Council authorised in 1685 the use of a "new inventione and ingyne called the thumbekins for expicateing matters of Governement." A careful perusal of the volumes referred to would lead to a more charitable view of the old Scottish "worthies," as they are known.

Several of Peden's Bibles, his sword (an Andrea Ferrara), his wig and "fause face" (the latter for disguise), his staff and tobacco-box, are still treasured.

"Peden was the only Covenanter of note in his day who died in his bed," so says his biographer; and with this satisfactory ending to his wanderings we close this short notice of one who was certainly a man who loomed large in his day and generation.

ED.

The Castle and Bawn of Dungiven.

BY E. M. F.-G. BOYLE.

THE castle of Dungiven was for centuries the residence of the O'Cahans. In 1601, after the submission of Sir Donnell O'Cahan, the Government placed a garrison there, and Sir Henry Dowcra subsequently gave to Sir John Sidney a lease of the castle and adjoining lands.

In 1604, on the restoration of the Earl of Tyrone, a dispute arose as to the ownership of these lands; but on the flight of the Earl, the Government restored the garrison and placed Captain Edward Dodington in the castle as Constable or Lieutenant.

Sir Arthur Chichester, in his *Notes of Remembrances touching the Plantation and Settlement of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (September, 1608), states that "the principal places to be cared for [held and garrisoned] within the County of Colrane [Coleraine, now Derry] are the Castle of Annogh, Lemavadie, Colerayne, and Downgevyne [Dungiven], albeit most of them are ruinous and out of repair."

Under the *Orders and Conditions of the Plantation*[1] every undertaker was, within two years from the date of his letters patent, to build upon his proportion "a Castle with a strong Court or Bawne about it." The time limited was subsequently extended to four years. The bawns[2] were for the protection of the castles at night. Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, F.T.C.D., writing to the *Athenæum* of August 1901, says he

[1] *Vide* Harris's *Hibernica*.

[2] *Bawn* in Irish means a "cattle fortress."

knows of only one[1] of these bawns now standing (viz., at Favour Royal, Co. Tyrone); but at Dungiven there is still standing the bawn built at the time of the Plantation, and of it I will now give a description.

Sir George Carew's report in 1611 is as follows: "Captain Edward Dodington hath builded at Dungiven a Castle of 22 foot broad, four stories high whereof some part of the walls were standing before; and is now by him well finished and slated. He hath built a house adjoining to the Castle 43 foot long and 18 broad, the walls whereof some parts were standing, but now very well and handsomely slated and finished. He hath repaired a bawn of lime and stone about the Castle and the house, with flankers of sufficient strength for defence.

THE BAWN AT DUNGIVEN (INTERIOR VIEW).
Photo by T. Predy, Limavady.

Towards the building of the Castle and the bawn he had £200 from the King, upon which, and the rest of his building he hath bestowed £300 as he affirmeth."

There is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a plan of the castle, which in every way corroborates Carew's report. On it is a statement that the castle was built by Captain Dodington, and it shows that part of it is four stories high, and on comparison with the scale this portion is 22 feet in breadth. The adjoining house measures by the scale 43 feet long and 18 broad.

[1] As usual in Irish matters, Professor Mahaffy is wrong: there are several bawns in existence.—ED.

At the Plantation this part of the county of Derry in which the castle was situate fell to the lot of the Skinners Company, and their grant from the Irish Society is dated 22 March, 1617 (16 James I.)

Captain Dodington was knighted and continued to hold the castle and lands from the Skinners Company.

In the survey by Captain Nicholas Pynnar in 1618, under the head of "Skinners Hall, alias Dungevan," we find that "the Lady Dodington, late wife of Sir Edward Dodington, Deceased, is in possession of this, she having taken a Grant of it from the Company for 61 years. Here is built a strong Castle, being two stories high and a half, with a large Bawn of Lyme and Stone well fortified. In this the Lady is now dwelling, with 24 in her Family."

On the expiry of Lady Dodington's lease, the Skinners Company (6 May, 1696) demised the "Manor of Pellipar and the Castle, town, and land of Dungiven" to Edward Carey. His son, Henry Carey, on 11 January, 1742, got a new lease at a rent of £500 on payment of a fine of £5,637. The Careys lived in the old castle. Robert Ogilby, in 1794, gave the Rt. Hon. Henry Carey £10,000 for his interest in the remainder of the lease, which expired in 1803, and Mr. Ogilby then got a new lease from the Skinners Company on payment of a fine of £25,000, a yearly rent of £1,500, and on depositing a sum of £10,000 as security for the rent.

The portion of the castle which was standing in 1838 was only one story, and there are now no traces of the old castle, though the old bawn still remains.

In 1839 Robert Ogilby expended a very large sum of money in rebuilding the castle, and this building is the edifice now standing. It is at the extremity of the town of Dungiven, and is most beautifully situated, facing south, possessing an extensive foreground with views of the entire chain of the surrounding mountains. The external appearance is that of a castellated mansion with bastions, flanking towers, etc., with a facade of about 200 feet. Internally, it is quite unfinished, and it is a matter of regret that it was not finished more in unison with its prepossessing exterior.

Robert Ogilby was bound under his lease from the Skinners Company to repair, and to uphold and maintain the castle, but he preferred to make his residence at Pellipar.

The bawn has three sides, the present castle forming the fourth and south side, having entrance gateways on the north, east, and west sides. The length of the east and west sides of the bawn from the

castle to the rear is about 150 feet, while the length of the north side of the bawn is about 200 feet.

The antiquity of the bawn is evidenced by the fact of the trees in several instances growing in the walls, as one of the views shows. The view is of portion of the exterior of the north side.

THE BAWN AT DUNGIVEN (EXTERIOR VIEW).
Photo by T. Predy.

The pond of water just outside the bawn adds to its picturesqueness. There are three turrets on the walls, and along the walls are numbers of loopholes and apertures.

On the expiry of Robert Ogilby's lease in 1873, the lands reverted to the Skinners Company; but in 1890, when the company sold their estates, the castle and grounds were purchased by Robert Alexander Ogilby, D.L., and now belong to his son, Robert J. L. Ogilby.

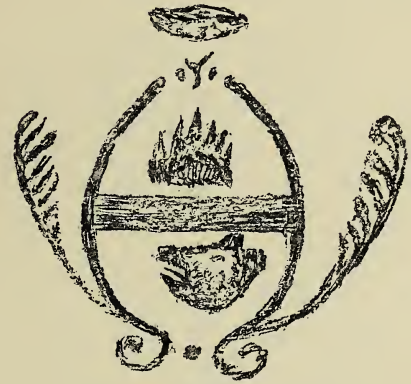
Armorial Sculptured Stones of the County Antrim.

By Francis Joseph Bigger and Herbert Hughes.

(Continued from page 96.)

Armoy Parish.

SMITH.



This place is ap
pointed for ye
Burial of Thomas [Smith]
and his family.

The above is carved on the west face.

Here lyeth the
Body of Thomas
Smith who died
August ye 20 1733
Aged 71

The above is carved on the east face.

Killead Parish,

CARMAVY.

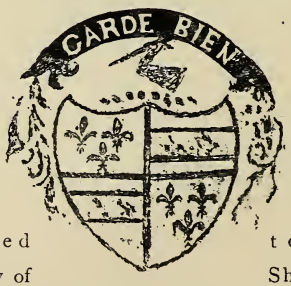
In the old graveyard of the Grange of Carnmeave or Carmavey are the following inscriptions:

AIKIN.

[Here l]yeth ^{e}y body of Mary [
d]ied Sept ^{e}y 26 1752 [
] years late wife to James Aikin
] it my husband and Children Weep
] ad but here I Sleep
As they Pass by my grave may see
Remember man that thou Must Die

The above stone is much broken, both the arms and lettering having suffered.

MONTGOMERY.



Sacred to the
Memory of Shusanna
Fielding wife of HENRY
Montgomery of Ballyna[ ]t
who Departed this [
Sep. 1 1799

The above stone is much worn and broken; it is built into a low wall. The celebrated Rev. Doctor Montgomery of Unitarian fame was of this family.

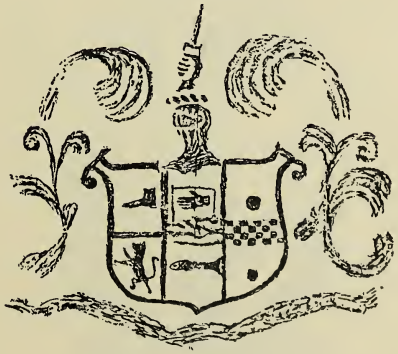
SHAW.

The above arms are cut on a large enclosed vault with no inscriptions. They are the Shaw arms—a well-known family, now extinct.

Ramoan Parish.

The following inscriptions are all in the old churchyard, which is situated a short distance west of the present parish church, near Ballycastle :

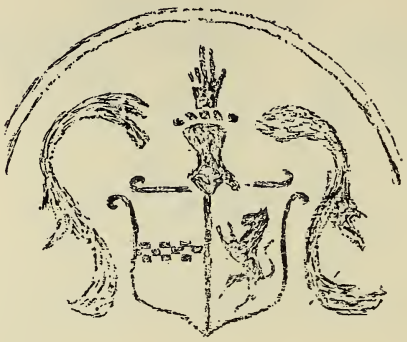
O'HAGAN.



Here lyeth the bo
dy of Mary O'Hagan
spouse to Patrick
O'Hagan merchant
in Ballycastle who
departed this life
February the 20th
1759 aged 22 years
Also her son Rog
er O'Hagan who
deceased June the
22nd 1758 aged 5 mo
nths and her son
John Boyd O'Hagan
aged 30 died 1786.

BOYD.

1760

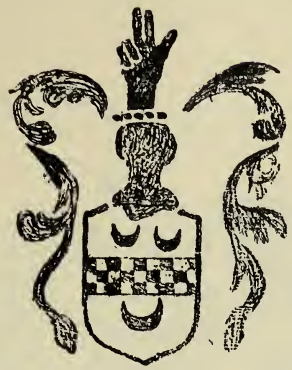


John
Boyd's
Monument
who died aged 67
A.D 1772 Jane his
wife died aged 82
1780 There issue
Eve died aged 12
1743 Alexander
aged 23 died abroad
1750 Hugh aged 2
died abroad 1753
William a child son
to William M.D. their
Son.

BOYD.

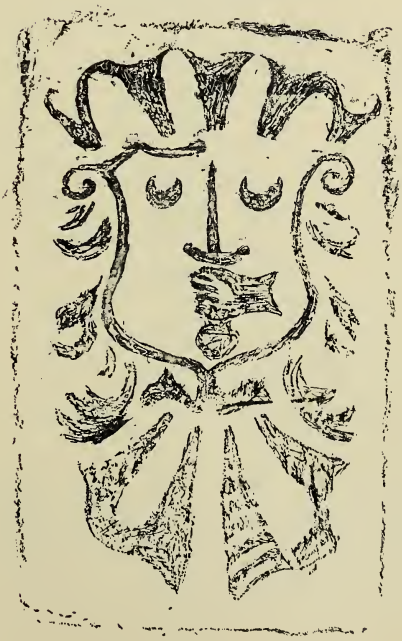
Here lieth
the body of
John Boyd Surgeon
who Died, July THE 15th
1776 Aged 66 years.
Also Ann his Wife
who Died, FebY THE 21st
1788 - Aged 74 years
with their Son William
who Died a child ; 1753.

BOYD.



Here
Lieth the body of
William Boyd Late of
Broomore who depa
rted this life 29th April
1827 Aged 83 years

O'MULLAN.



Here
lyeth e y Body
of John O'Mullan
who died April
e
y 24th 1702 aged 23

MacCAMBRIDGE.

Here
lieth the
Body of
Archibald
Mc Cambridge who
departed this life ;
the 15th day of Septr
1784. Aged 47 Years
With
Five of his children
Also his daughter
Catherine who depart -
ed the 14th Febry 1808 Aged
36 - and IsaBella his
Wife who died 11th octb 1809
Aged 72 .

This is an elaborately-carved stone with surrounding devices—cherub, skull and cross bones, urns, etc. It is situated in the north-east corner of the old churchyard, and is of considerable height.

M'CRANK.

Mary M'Crank
of Ballycastle who
died 29th August
1864 Aged 82 years

This monu-
ment erect
ed By Iohn
Mc Noir for
himself
wife and
children
1774

The motto on above cannot be read; the centre letters appear like [ ] querus [ ]. The first portion of the inscription is of recent date.

(To be continued.)

Miscellanea

Robert Downes, Bishop of Down and Connor.

THE following inscription is on an upright slab placed against the northern boundary wall of the churchyard, opposite the north porch of the nave of St. Peter's Church, Aungier Street, Dublin. On the re-building of the church many years ago, a number of the grave slabs were removed from their original sites, and placed against the walls. It is not now known how near the grave the slab is at present. It adjoins that of the notorious Lord Clare. Richard Downes was Bishop of Down and Connor 1752–3.

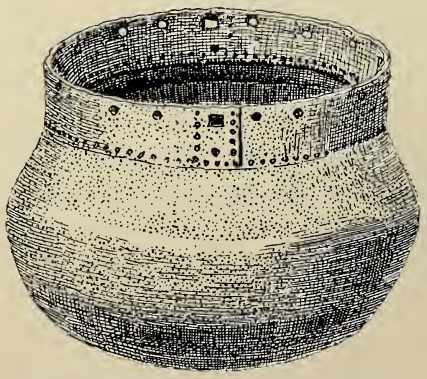
ARMS.

Robert Downes D.D
Successively Bishop of
Leighlin & Ferns
Down & Connor
and
Raphoe
Died 30 June
1763
Aged 59 years

Here also lieth his Daughter Jane Carey
Hamilton wife of the Revd George Carey
Hamilton died 2nd April, 1765 aged 28

F. J. B.

Bronze Cauldron.



BRONZE VESSEL FOUND NEAR BALLYMONEY.
In possession of J. Percy Stott.

A BRONZE pot, of the largest description, recently came into the possession of J. Percy Stott of Ballymoney, having been discovered in a bog about three miles north of Ballymoney, at a depth of over twenty feet. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and is remarkable for its size, being 7 ft. 2 in. in circumference at its widest part, 2 ft. 3 in. wide at the mouth, and 19 in. deep. It is made of thin beaten bronze ; the base being of one piece, with a large circular patch riveted on the bottom. There are two large holes at the rim, where handles or rings doubtless existed, but these are now gone. The rim itself shows several holes, to which a wooden or other rim may have been affixed to support a lid, which may also have been of wood. When found, the peasant said there was a lid which all "muldered

to pieces." There are several small patched holes in the vessel, which is of an early type, dating from the first to the fifth centuries. No other articles were found when it was discovered in the bog. F. J. B.

The MacSwyne Grave Slab.

THE annexed illustration of the MacSwyne tomb faithfully represents the most interesting monument in the little graveyard in the grounds at Doe Castle, County Donegal. This was formerly the site of a Franciscan abbey, under the fostering care of the MacSwyne family; but no remains, save a few cut stones, now exist. The cross is a very fine one indeed, with a Celtic interlaced centre and spear-headed fleur-de-lis radiations. It is on a calvary of five steps, enclosing the sacred monogram "I.H.C." Down the left side of the interlaced shaft are four decorative ornaments, the upper one being an elaborate interlaced circle. Below these is shown a boar, evidently intended to symbolize the family—boars are borne upon the MacSwyne shield. The four animals shown on the other side of the shaft are somewhat of an enigma. The upper is clearly a bird—perhaps an eagle; the second and fourth are not definite; the third is a bull. Can it be that they are the signs of the four Evangelists? The second figure bears in its mouth two flying leaves: a distinctly Irish feature often seen in architectural detail in churches. The inscription, so far, I have been unable to decipher satisfactorily, as it is much worn. The date may be 1544 [M]CCCCCXXXXIIII, as appears on the right side, and the name of the sculptor MADONIUF ORAVAITY [ME] FECIT. The stone is now built into the surrounding wall of the little graveyard, which has a situation of great loveliness, sloping down to a little estuary of the sea, luxuriant in trees and rich vegetation, with distant views of surpassing beauty. Like Dunboy Castle in Kerry, vessels of considerable burthen could be cabled to the castle walls of Doe. The present castle, now tumbling into ruins, has been much modernized, but its older parts are still preserved. It was long the stronghold of MacSwyne-na-d'Tuath, signifying MacSwyne of the Battle Axes: a title said to be derived from their being chiefs of gallowglasses, and standard-

THE MACSWYNE GRAVE SLAB AT DOE CASTLE, COUNTY DONEGAL.
Photo by R. Welch.

bearers and marshals to the O'Donnells. The MacSwynes are said to be a branch of the O'Neills, who settled in Donegal, and were divided into three clans: MacSwyne of Fanad,

THE CASTLE OF THE MACSWYNE AT DOE, COUNTY DONEGAL.
Photo by R. Welch.

with their stronghold at Rathmullan; MacSwyne of Banagh, or Tir Boghaine, with their castle at Rathain; and the MacSwynes of Doe. There are accounts of this warlike clan in O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees* and in Hill's *Plantation in Ulster*. F. J. B.

Belfast School in Eighteenth Century.

THE following is one of the first occasions of "Compulsory" Education in Belfast: "The Earl of Donegall and his trustees require the children of the town to be sent to his school conducted by the Rev. Nicholas Garnet. He hopes they will not lay him under the necessity of taking notice of any individual who shall continue not to do so, after providing the town with a master so well known and so well recommended."—*Belfast News-Letter*, 8 Feb., 1754.
F. J. B.

The Danes in Ireland.

IN a book,[1] I lately came across the following passage, which gives some idea of the ravages of the Norsemen in Ireland, and also the uses of our underground dwellings or souterrains: "After that Ingolf spent their money in an expedition to Ireland, but Leif set out upon a viking expedition to the west (Vestrviking). He harried Ireland, and found there a large underground house or cavern; he went into it, and within it was very dark, until he advanced till where he saw a great gleaming from a sword which a man held in his hand. Leif slew the man, and took the sword, and much treasure from him, and thereafter he was called Hjorleif-Leif of the sword. Hjorleif harried Ireland wide about, and took from thence much treasure; he also took ten thralls, who are thus named: Dufthak and Geirrod, Skjaldbjorn, Halldor, and Drafdrit; more are not named." ED.

[1] *Settlement of Iceland: Ari Frodi*. Kendal, 1896.

Irish Harp Festival in Belfast.

In connection with this Feis, which was held in the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, on 8 May, 1903, a book was prepared, giving not only a catalogue with full particulars of the exhibits, but a concise account of the Harp and the Pipes, and Belfast in its relation to Irish Music, freely illustrated.

WAR PIPER OF THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
From Derrick's "Image of Ireland."

The principal feature of the performance on the 8th was the number of harpers who performed, some seven in all, several of them playing on the new harps made in Belfast by James McFall. Belfast-made pipes were also performed upon and accompanied some step-dancing. The success was so great that the programme was repeated in a larger hall on the subsequent evening. The exhibition remained open for a fortnight, and was largely visited. The book was printed and published by W. & G. Baird, Ltd., Belfast, and is well worthy of preservation for the amount of information it contains, dealing with the recent Feis, and the many interesting memorials of the great Harp Festival held in Belfast in 1792. A few copies can still be had from the editor of this Journal.

F. J. B.

HARPER OF THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
From Derrick's "Image of Ireland."

Irish Warriors and Peasants, A.D. 1521.

FACSIMILE, actual size, of a drawing by Albrecht Dürer, dated 1521, now in cabinet of engravings, Berlin. A pen drawing, washed with colour. Over the two figures on the left is written by Dürer himself:

"Also gand dy Krigs man In Irlandia hindr engeland"
(Here go to the warriors in Ireland beyond England).

Over the three figures on the right is similarly written:

"Allso gand dy paivern In Irlandyen"
(Here go the peasants of Ireland).

On top, in space between the two groups, Dürer monogram and date 1521. The drawing was reproduced in facsimile in Dr. F. Lippmann's *Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, Berlin, 1883. Also reproduced in *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, 1887, p. 296.

W. G. S.

IRISH SOLDIERS AND PEASANTRY.
From a Drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1521.

This drawing is reduced from a photograph procured by the Earl of Mayo from W. G. Strickland, of the National Gallery of Ireland, who has also supplied the notes on the drawing which are printed above.

Lord Mayo suggests that these figures would make a splendid subject for treatment in tapestry, if separated a little, and trees and verdure put in by a competent artist.

From the Kildare Archæological Journal, vol. iii, p. 486.

Smuggling at Belfast.

SMUGGLING was carried on briskly at Belfast in the eighteenth century, many of the "respectable" merchants of the town engaging in this risky, but lucrative occupation, and amassing considerable fortunes thereat. The following extract is from the *News-Letter* of 3 January, 1772: "In consequence of an information, an officer of the Revenue, with a party of soldiers, early on Tuesday morning last, met with three men and horses loaded with smuggled tea, near the Drumbridge on the road betwixt Belfast and Lisburn. Upon their being ordered to stand, instead thereof they fired their pistols at the officer and party and endeavoured to force their way, but the soldiers fired, killed one of the men and wounded the other two, and killed the three horses. The tea was brought to the Custom House."

F. J. B.

Dr. Thomas Rutty and "Button Scurvy."

THE following was written by the late Dr. W. Frazer of Dublin on 30 August, 1896:

"Dr. Thomas Rutty was born, it is thought, in Wiltshire, 25 December, 1697. He studied in Leyden under Boerhaave, and settled in Dublin in 1724, dying unmarried at his house, Poll Lane, 26 April, 1775. He was interred in the ground where the paved yard (lately partially built on) of the College of Surgeons is in Stephen's Green. It was then the 'Quakers' Burial Ground.' He was a voluminous writer. His works on the Mineral Waters of Ireland appeared in 1757 and 1762; on the Weather, etc., and Diseases of Dublin, 1770, the result of 40 years' observations; and a *Materia Medica*, published in London and Amsterdam, in Latin, 1775. As regards the disease called 'Button Scurvy,' I saw two cases, well marked, when beginning professional life—one on the head, the other on the body, especially the thighs and buttocks. It consisted of raised red elevations, rather granular and soft, and was said to be contagious and spread from wearing dirty breeches, much like Condylomata. It was also supposed to spread from scabby sheep. Cleanliness and astringents set it right. It did not require mercury. Some of the medical persons who saw it connected it with the 'Yaws' of the West Indies. As I never met with that disease, I can give no opinion. I know there was a description written of 'Button Scurvy' as 'Ecphyma,'[1] but by whom I am unaware."

H. S. PURDON.

[1] Dr. Burgess called it "Ecphyma Globulis," common during the famine years in south and west of Ireland. Since then it has disappeared.

Notes and Queries.

This column is open to readers desirous of obtaining or imparting information on questions of interest and obscure points of historical lore relating to the district

The Eccles Family.—In vol. iv of the Journal, pp. 29-30, Lord Belmore gives an account of the *Betham-Phillipps MS.* History of Fermanagh, written in 1718-19, and adds many notes regarding the families mentioned therein. He says: "I cannot exactly identify Gilbert and Robert Eccles" (Robert is a misprint for *Joseph*: see line 15 of same page), "but have no doubt that they were of the Tyrone family near Fintona, now represented by Mrs. McClintock of Ecclesville and Seskinore." I have lately come across an Exchequer Bill in the Public Record Office, Dublin, dated 20 January, 1703 *(Michael Law and Sarah his wife v. Gilbert Eccles, Adam Nixon, and Mary his wife, Hester Eccles, and others)*, which identifies Gilbert Eccles, and gives details of a branch of the family hitherto unnoticed in the memoir of Eccles of Ecclesville in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, sub tit. McClintock. The following information as to Daniel Eccles and his children is derived almost exclusively from this Bill:

Gilbert Eccles of Shannock, Co. Fermanagh, served as High Sheriff, Co. Fermanagh 1665, and Co. Tyrone 1673. He purchased Shannock in 1656 from Henry Gilbert, who at the same time sold Castlecoole to John Corry (Chancery Bill, 1681, *J. Corry and G. Eccles v. A. Champion*, quoted in Lord Belmore's *History of the Corry Family*, p. 15). Gilbert Eccles died 1692, leaving, besides Charles (ancestor of the Ecclesville family) and Joseph, of Rathmoran, Co. Fermanagh, both mentioned by Burke, an eldest son—

Daniel Eccles, of Shannock, High Sheriff, Co. Fermanagh, 1675, who married (articles dated 9 March, 1670) Sarah, daughter of William Moore of Tullyvin, Co. Cavan, and died, during the lifetime of his father, in March 1688, leaving three sons and five daughters; namely, (1) Gilbert Eccles of Shannock (mentioned in the *Betham-Phillipps MS.*), who served as High Sheriff, Co. Fermanagh, in 1696 and 1698; (2) William Eccles; (3) Chichester Eccles. (1) Mary Eccles, married, before 1696, the Rev. Adam Nixon, M.A., J.P., of Drumcrow, Co. Fermanagh, Rector of Aghalurcher, in that county, son of George Nixon of Granshagh, Co. Fermanagh, ancestor of the families formerly living at Nixon Hall, near Enniskillen, and Nixon Lodge, near Belturbet; (2) Sarah Eccles, married, 2 February, 1692, Michael Law of Coleshill, Co. Fermanagh; (3) Hester Eccles; (4) Jane Eccles; (5) Anne Eccles.

The Rev. Adam Nixon, who died intestate, administration granted 8 March, 1716, "a man of learning and sound judgmt" *(Betham-Phillipps MS.)*, had an eldest son, the Rev. Eccles Nixon, M.A., of Drumcrow, who entered Trinity College, Dublin, 17 March, 1713, aged 17, and was a Scholar of the House. The Rev. Eccles Nixon was father of Major-General Sir Eccles Nixon, Madras Army, H.E.I.C.S., who, after a career of considerable distinction, was lost at sea in the wreck of *The Prince of Wales*, 29 May, 1804. Sir Eccles left many descendants. His great-grandson, Colonel John Eccles Nixon, C.B., Indian Staff Corps, was gazetted C.B., 26 June, 1902.

H. B. SWANZY.

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EDITED BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A., ARDRIE, BELFAST.

Bronze Bridle-Bit found recently near Portglenone, Co. Antrim.

BY THE REV. GEORGE R. BUICK, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

THE ancient snaffle-bit, which I now describe and figure, was discovered not very long ago in the townland of Gortgole, close to the village of Portglenone. A farmer came upon it when scouring out and deepening a ditch on his farm. He sold it to a local dealer in antiquities, through whom it reached me.

As finds of this description are comparatively rare, at least in Ulster, I deem it right to put this one on record.

The bit itself (fig. 1) is, with the exception of the rings, in a fair state of preservation. It is slightly over eleven inches in length, and without ornamentation of any kind. The mouthpiece is six inches

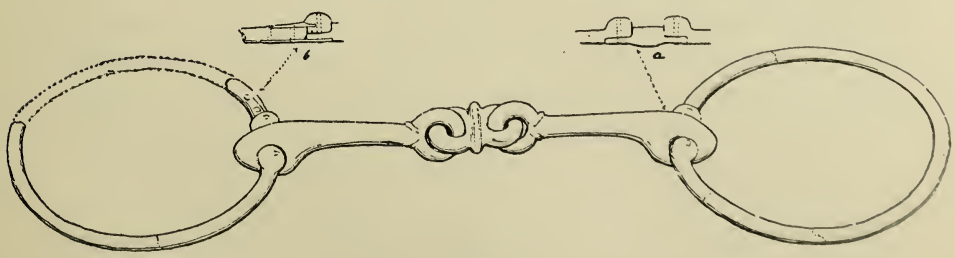

Fig. 1.
BRONZE BIT FOUND NEAR PORTGLENONE.

long; the portion available for the animal's mouth being four inches and three quarters. It is strong, and in excellent condition. It consists of two parts joined together by means of a well-fitted hinge-stud. Evidently all these have been cast together; how, it is difficult to say.

But one thing is certain, whoever made it possessed no little technical skill.

The check-rings are each over three inches in diameter. They are much decayed, and a portion of one of them is missing. Each has two controlling studs, showing only on the exterior side, between which the mouthpiece plays, the studs at the same time preventing the ring from shifting. The part which completes the ring—pivot, it is sometimes called—and which passes through the hole of the mouthpiece, has, in both instances, been inserted and secured in its place by rivets. These latter pass through the studs, as shown in section fig. 1*a*, and are also of bronze. One of the rings has been broken close to the stud where it was weakest, owing to the jointing (fig. 1*b*); but it has been neatly mended by means of two little plates of bronze, one on each side of the ring, firmly secured in their places by rivets. The upper of these two plates is dovetailed into the stud. A glance at the illustration will make the method of mending clear.

Sir William Wilde, in the Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, divides the bronze bridle-bits—some forty-two in all—into three classes:

I. The simple snaffle, or burdoon, with a strong mouthpiece in two parts, having an exceedingly well-fitted hinge-stud between, and large check-rings, which, as well as the extremities of the bit, are in many specimens highly ornamented, and in some instances jewelled or enamelled.

II. The double driving-bit, without an intermediate piece in the hinge, but with metal straps or rods running on the check-rings for the attachment of the reins.

III. The small and probably driving-bit, with an iron mouthpiece and no rings, but broad, and in most instances highly decorated open-work check-plates for the attachment of the reins.

The Gortgole example belongs to the first of these three classes. It has all the appearance, too, of being a very early example.

Bridle-bits of this class are often more or less ornamented. The ornamentation occurs sometimes on the mouthpiece alone, sometimes on the rings alone, and occasionally on both. In all instances it is in relief, and has been cast thus along with the portion of the bit, or it may be the entire bit, on which it is found.

A remarkable example of one with the ornamentation on the rings is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. It was found in a moss at Burrenswark, Annadale, Dumfriesshire. It is figured in the

Catalogue of the Museum and in Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age*, page 124. Fig. 2 is a copy of the illustration, from which it will be seen that the ornamental design of each ring differs somewhat, and is confined to the portion within the ring itself. It consists mainly of ovals and triangles in relief, the intervening spaces of which were originally filled in with red and yellow enamel. The red alone remains. On the openwork of one of the loops the double spiral or trumpet pattern occurs. This is a characteristic feature of "Late Celtic" decorative art, and enables us to fix the date of this Scotch bridle-bit, within certain limits, with a tolerable amount of accuracy. Metal-work thus decorated belongs in England and Scotland to a period, roughly speaking, between B.C. 200 and A.D. 300. In Ireland, the style, in its purity, survived to a somewhat later date.

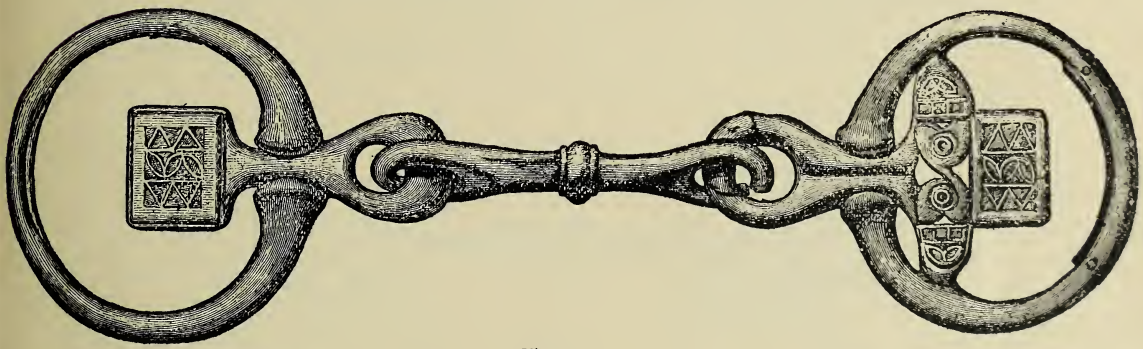

Fig. 2.
BRONZE BIT IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, EDINBURGH.

There is an equally remarkable bridle-bit of the same class in the Museum of Science and Art, Dublin. It was found at Kileevan, near Analore, and has been illustrated in colour and described in the *Kilkenny Journal of Archæology* for Nov. 1857. Its large broad rings have a raised Guilloche pattern and Grecian fret or scroll, all the hollows being filled, as in the Scotch example, with enamel, in this instance red, much of which still retains its bright vermilion hue.

Enamelling of this kind—champlevé it is usually called—is found only in the British Isles. Philostratus, a Greek writer who lived during the reign of the Emperor Severus, tells us—and the reference must be to the inhabitants of these islands—"It is said that the barbarians who live in the ocean pour these colours [he is referring to the varied colours which enrich certain horse trappings he has occasion to describe] on heated brass, and that they adhere and become as hard as stone, and so preserve the designs that are made in them."

Commenting on this particular specimen, Sir William Wilde refuses to accept it as Irish. The Guilloche pattern, he says, is purely Scandinavian. The conclusion, however, is open to doubt.

Of the bridle-bits similar in make to that from Gortgole, but ornamented on the mouthpiece, there are some fine examples in the Dublin Museum. Fig. 3 represents one of these, and a very beautiful one it is, with broad rings and controlling studs pierced for the reception of enamel, or possibly for a setting of amber. It was dug from a bog at a spot about one mile and a half from Atymon Station on the Midland and Great Western Railway, County Mayo. It is of a rich golden bronze, and is described as having been found at a depth of twenty-four feet from the surface in hard turf. Along with it were another bridle-bit, identical in every respect, and two spur-shaped articles, of which a detailed description will be given immediately. All are beautifully ornamented in the "Late Celtic" style already referred to. The

Fig. 3.
BRONZE BIT IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

ordinary spiral and the trumpet-shaped pattern both occur, blended together very simply, yet very effectively. It would be rash, of course, to refer the "find" to any particular year; but in attempting to reach an approximate date, it may not be out of place to note that in the collection in Dublin belonging to the Royal Irish Academy there is a bit somewhat similar to the one under consideration, which, with a spur-shaped article, was found in 1848, accompanied by other remains, on the scene of a battle fought in the second century A.D. The place of conflict was a hollow between the celebrated hills of Tara and Screen.

To this it might be added, that in the same year there was discovered at Navan, Co. Meath, a bronze bridle-bit, accompanied by a considerable number of beautifully ornamented and richly gilt objects, also of bronze, which there is every reason to believe were attached in

some way or other to horse trappings of various kinds. The decoration which these remains exhibit is such that we may be certain they belong to a period well within the Christian era: say the eighth or ninth century at the earliest. The mouthpieces of this bit are linked together without an intermediate hinge-stud, and the cheek-rings have no controlling studs to limit their play. They are furnished, however, on their outsides with knobbed bars, slightly projecting, and dividing each ring into two parts. Four rein staples—some of which still retain fragments of buff leather—are attached to these rings. This is probably the latest description of bronze bridle-bit as found in Ireland. It seems to have been immediately succeeded by iron articles of exactly the same form, specimens of which have been discovered in crannogs;

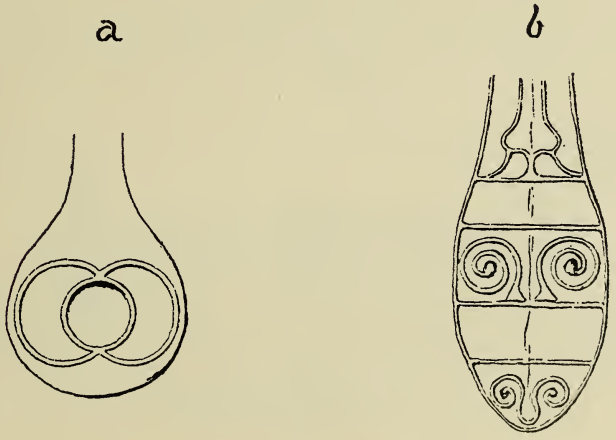

Fig. 4.
FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE BITS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

a notable and perfect example being one from Lagore, or Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath, procured on the spot by the late W. F. Wakeman, and now in the National Museum.

It would appear then that by the eighth century the bronze bits of the class to which the Gortgole and Atymon specimens belong had given way to a class of bits of a different make altogether, though the material itself remained the same. Further than this, in the determination of age, I do not think it is at present possible to go: and to guard against misapprehension, I would add that the ornamentation on the Atymon bit seems to me at least to indicate a period closer, in point of time, to the second century A.D. than to the eighth.

For the benefit of those who wish to study more in detail the

decorative art-work of these ancient bridle-bits, I may be allowed before I leave the subject a momentary reference to at least a couple of other examples in the Dublin Museum.

One, unfortunately, is incomplete, a mere fragment; but it is very noticeable for the exquisite pattern it exhibits, and which still retains much of its yellow enamel (fig. 4*b*). It forms a part of the Petrie Collection. Nothing is known as to the particular locality from which it came.

The other is in the same collection, and is a perfect bit (fig. 5). This is the one already alluded to as found between Tara and Screen. The details of its ornamentation should be compared with those of the specimens already noticed. Its ring-studs still retain enamel, which appears like vermilion, considerably faded, but still recognisable.

Of the spur-shaped articles sometimes found, as at Atymon and in the neighbourhood of Tara, along with bridle-bits of bronze, little is

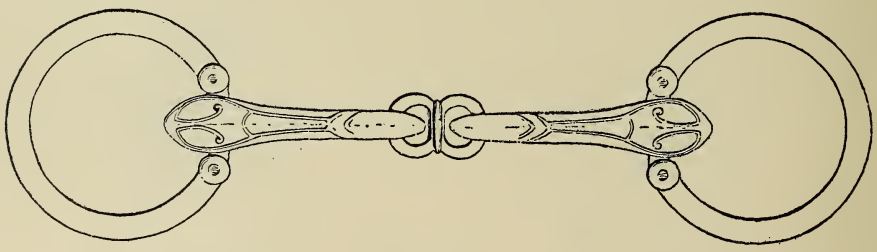

Fig. 5.
BRONZE BIT FOUND NEAR TARA.

known. They were formerly styled "Head-stalls"; now they are known as "Pendants." Of the two descriptions underlying these terms, the latter seems nearer the truth. The terminations of the "fork" have each a loop or opening, evidently designed for suspension, as may be inferred from the fact that these loops or openings are usually worn somewhat just at those points where one would expect them to be worn, in case they were made use of to attach the "pendant" to the bit in such a way that it could swing backwards and forwards under the horse's nose.

Both the terminal loop and the knob, which usually forms a finish to the straight bar or stem, are in many instances ornamented. In all likelihood, too, the hollows surrounding the raised spirals and other curves were originally filled with enamel, of which, however, no trace, as far as I am aware, remains. Fig. 6 is a representation of one from

Atymon. Another precisely similar was found along with it. The two must have been cast in the same mould. Each is 13¾ inches in length. The ornamentation upon them is in keeping with that on

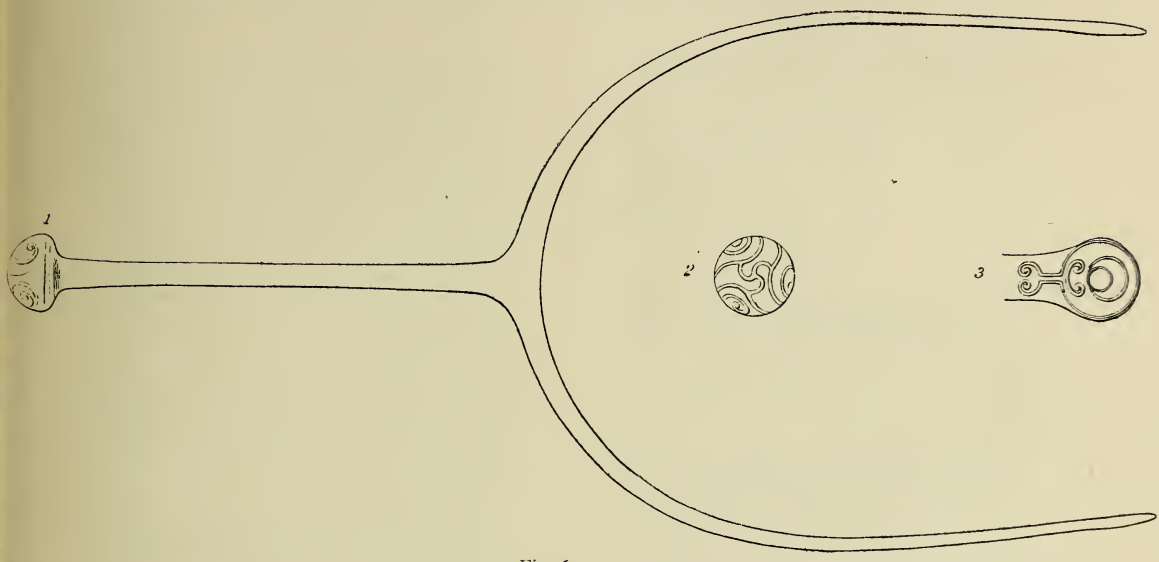

Fig. 6.
BRONZE SPUR FOUND AT ATYMON.

the bridle-bits with which they were associated. What purity of form, what grace of combination, and what wealth of suggestiveness it displays! The workmen who designed and carried it out were artists of whom our country may well be proud.

The French Prisoners in Belfast, 1759-1763.

THE following reprint of a rare Belfast pamphlet, the property of Thomas Hunter of Glenarm, deals with an episode in local history not very creditable to some of the authorities in Belfast. The charitable and humane action of "the Sovereign, Burgesses, and principal Inhabitants" redeemed the credit of the town, affording relief to the distressed foreigners, and at the same time justly punishing their greedy purveyor. The notes are supplied by "Belfastiensis" (Isaac W. Ward). ED.

THE

CONDUCT

OF THE

SOVEREIGN, BURGESSES,

AND PRINCIPAL

INHABITANTS OF *BELFAST*

VINDICATED;

AND,

The NECESSITY and PROPRIETY thereof, to procure RELIEF to the FRENCH PRISONERS confin'd at BELFAST

FULLY SHEWN.

The Eye, that will not weep another's Sorrow,
Shou'd boaft no gentler Brightneſs than the Glare
That reddens in the Eye-ball of the Wolf.
MASON.

Printed in the YEAR, M,DCC,LXI.

(3)

THE CONDUCT OF THE SOVEREIGN, BURGESSES, AND PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS OF *BELFAST* VINDICATED, *&c.* *Note 1.*

EVERY man's acquaintance with the world ſhews him the vaſt variety there is among men in it—Hence, from this variety, a diverſity of ſentiment is as natural to us as the different forms of our faces; hence we judge variouſly of the propriety of each others actions from the different lights in which they appear to us, and from the different feelings and ſenſations we find in ourſelves; and hence it is, that the conduct of the Sovereign, Burgeſſes, and principal inhabitants of *Belfaſt*, reſpecting the French Priſoners, is deemed partial and impertinent by *ſome*, and laudable and proper by *others*.

To free the charitable conduct of theſe gentlemen from reproach, and to prevent it from loſing its proper influence by any miſrepreſentation, is truly a charitable office, and one reaſon why a candid ſtate of Facts is here ſubmitted to the deciſion and impartiality of the Publick.

THE applauſe of the world, tho it may be expected, is nevertheleſs not ſought for;----- it is enough that the gentlemen enjoy a much higher gratification, the applauſe of their own hearts.

Note 1.—James Hamilton was Sovereign of Belfast in 1761. He was a wine merchant, who removed from High Street to the corner of Donegall (then Linen Hall) Street and Waring Street, as per the following advertisement in the *Belfast News-Letter* for June 19, 1757:

"Mr. James Hamilton, Merchant, intends to remove in a few days to his new house adjoining his cellars at the South end of Linen Hall Street, and is ready to treat with a purchaser for the lease of the house wherein he now lives, next door to the Bank in Belfast (Mussenden, Adair & Bateson, in High Street, opposite Bridge Street), or to let the same for a term of years as may be agreed on; the conveniences which are extensive for a wholesale merchant, or a shopkeeper, will be shown at any time by said Hamilton until disposed of."

A John Hamilton was Sovereign of Belfast in 1732. (See vol. vii, page 156.)

Belfast News-Letter, Friday, 27 February, 1761:

"The Sovereign of Belfast having received an answer to the remonstrance from the town to the Commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, on behalf of the French prisoners of war confined in the Barracks of Belfast, that they would speedily order a thorough and impartial enquiry into the several matters of complaint against their agent, Mr. Stanton, takes this opportunity of informing the town that said enquiry will be begun on Tuesday next, the 3rd of March at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at the Donegall Arms in Belfast, where all persons concerned may attend if they think proper.

"JAMES HAMILTON, Sovereign.

"Belfast, 26th Feby. 1761."

(4)

THE propriety and neceſſity of the publication farther ariſes from the many indecent reflections which have been thrown out againſt different worthy people, upon whoſe actions the worſt conſtruction has been put that ill nature cou'd fuggeſt.

BUT can, in reaſon, an exertion of a man's influence and abilities to puniſh the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice and inhumanity, be deemed to proceed from wicked and ſelfiſh motives? Can a man pretend to the character of an honeſt or good man, unleſs he upon all occaſions, difcountenances and expreſſes his juſt abhorrence and deteſtation of all manner of vice? Does not the happineſs of the whole human race ſeem plainly to be intended by their creation? And is it not to advance it that the kind Author of Nature has implanted the divine principle of BENEVOLENCE in the human heart? Is it not by an exertion of this principle chiefly, that we can be ſaid to imitate God, and declare him in the world? And how can we denominate mens actions vicious or virtuous, but as they proportionably obſtruct or exert its influence? Is it not it that engages men to feel and pity the miſery of others? and was it not it that engaged lieut. col. HIGGINSON and the Gentlemen of *Belfaſt* to attend to, and report the ſufferings of the *French* Priſoners confined there, to the Commiſſioners for their exchange

(5)

change in England, in order to their redreſs?

As it now remains to ſhew this, by a minute detail of the ſufferings of theſe unfortunate men, and the ſteps taken for their relief: it will be proper to commence it from the time of their captivity, which happened in or about the month of *January* 1758; after which they ſuffered near two years confinement at *Cork:* But an invaſion being threatned that part of *Ireland*, they were removed from thence to *Belfaſt*, in *November* 1760, where they remained till mon. *Thurot*'s deſcent in the bay of *Carrickfergus*, when they were again haſtily removed to different diſtant inland parts, whereby the wretches were almoſt harraſſed to death, and loſt every moveable they had, by their inability to carry any thing from place to place.

Tho' it might naturally be imagined that theſe places to which the Priſoners were removed, were the ſafeſt and propereſt for their ſtay; yet in the month of *October* laſt their Commiſſary, Mr. *Stanton*, procured by ſome means their return to *Belfaſt* becauſe, his profits were thereby conſiderably increaſed. But by the humanity and activity of captain *Rankin*, and the gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood of *Caſtle-Dawſon*, one diviſion of the Priſoners ſtill remains there; and are mighty happy themſelves, and uſeful to the country; enjoying the whole of his Majeſty's royal bounty. AFTER

Note 2.

Note 2.—"Mr. Stanton" was Samuel Stanton, probably the father of Samuel Stanton the apothecary in the High Street. The following extracts from the *Belfast News-Letter* relate to the latter:

1750, Mar. 27—On Thursday next the 29th inst. will be sold by Public Cant at Doctor Stanton's shop in Belfast, 15 Hh'ds Choice American Flax Seed.

1756, Jany. 9—To be let by Samuel Stanton, Apothecary, very good lodgings furnished or not furnished, in his House in High Street, Belfast.

1757, July 5 } Jane Stevenson, Milliner, continues business at her lodgings with Mr.
1758, May 5 } Stanton, Apothecary, in Belfast.

There were two Stauntons—Moses and Aaron—connected with the Carnmoney Mill at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The following is the local intimation of the declaration of war:

1756, June 1—This day at noon war will be declared with France in the several public places of this town in the usual manner.

This extract tells of the arrival of the prisoners:

1759, Nov. 30—The first batch of French prisoners of war arrived in Belfast. 300 to be quartered in the barracks here [Barrack Street] and 300 to be lodged in Carrickfergus.

The following extracts have an interest of their own—all taken from the *Belfast News-Letter* of the dates given.

(6)

AFTER the return of the Priſoners to *Belfaſt*, and ſuch journeying from place to place, they became almoſt in want of every thing; yet their Commiſſary inſtead of commiſerating their extreme wretchedneſs, took all poſſible means to increaſe it; till at length it grew to ſuch an enormous degree, that it became ſhocking to col. *Higginſon*'s humanity; and ſo much ſo, that he cou'd no longer be a witneſs of ſuch diſtreſs without endeavouring to adminiſter to their relief. (See Colonel *Higginſon*'s Letter to the Sovereign, Burgeſſes, and principal Inhabitants of *Belfaſt*, Appendix, N° I.)

THIS letter, and the reception it met with from the town, reflects real honour upon col. *Higginſon*; who, ſenſible of the miſeries of war, ſought every opportunity to mitigate its horrors, and exerciſe his humanity; knowing that "that charity is beſt of which the conſequences are moſt extenſive. The relief of enemies has a tendency to unite mankind in fraternal affection, to ſoften the acrimony of adverſe nations, and diſpoſe them to peace and amity: In the mean time it alleviates captivity, and takes away ſomething from the miſeries of war----The rage of war, however mitigated, will always fill the world with calamity and horror; let it not then be unneceſſarily extended; let animoſity and hoſtility ceaſe together, and no man be longer deemed

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deemed an enemy, than while his ſword is drawn againſt us."*

NOR did col. *Higginſon* write his letter to the town till he had for ſome months uſed, and found every argument ineffectual to bring Mr. *Stanton* to a right ſenſe of duty. Nay, till he had received the groſſeſt meſſages, and ſtrongeſt aſſurances from mr. *Stanton* of his want of honeſty and humanity. (See ſergt. major *Keith*'s affidavit, Appen. N° II.)

UPON receipt of col. *Higginſon*'s letter, the Sovereign ſummoned the Inhabitants to a meeting in the Town-hall, when after an examination of col. *Higginſon*, ſeveral of his officers, and different gentlemen of the town, who were acquainted with the truth and matter of col. *Higginſon*'s complaint; it was reſolved, that a remonſtrance ſhould be drawn up againſt mr. *Stanton*, to the Commiſſioners in *England*, his Employers, to remove him from his office, for the reaſons contained therein. (See Appen. N° III.)

IT is imagined that it cannot readily be denied but that this reſolution was neceſſary and proper, for what dependance cou'd be had upon a *man*, who had ſo daringly violated and trampled

* Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee appointed to manage the Contributions, begun at *London* 18th *Decem.* 1758, for cloathing French Priſoners of War.

1759, Oct. 2—Stephen Haven Sovereign of Belfast.
,, ,, 26—Rejoicing in Belfast. Reduction of Quebec.
,, Dec. 4—Volunteer night-watch to be formed during stay of French prisoners in Belfast.
1760, Jan. 11—Samuel Stanton, Agent for French prisoners of war at Belfast (Notice about escapes).
,, Feb. 1—Clothing for French prisoners at Carrickfergus furnished by inhabitants of Lisburn.
,, Mar. 7—Capt. Elliott's official account of his action with the French fleet under Thurot near the Isle of Man on February 28.
,, ,, 7—Thurot buried with military honours at Ramsay, Isle of Man, on March 1.
,, ,, 7—List of 25 officers and 416 men landed at Carrickfergus on March 1 out of man-of-war "Palles."
,, ,, 7—Lt. Col. John Jennings, Col. of 62nd Regiment, quartered at Carrickfergus. Henry Gill, Storekeeper at the Castle, Carrickfergus.
,, ,, 7—Stephen Haven, Sovereign, orders the guns and bayonets lent to Volunteers to be returned at once.
,, ,, 11—Thurot's Journal of Expenditure with 5 Men of War.
,, ,, 13—Thurot's Expedition, Account of the Surrender.
,, ,, 13—Humorous Letter written at Dublin about Thurot's expedition.
,, ,, 21—Dean Hill Benson at Carrickfergus with signature of 12 prisoners to letter for Col. Jennings.
,, ,, 25—Epitaph on Thurot at Ramsay, written by the Secretary of the French ship of war "La Blonde."
,, ,, 28—Henry Langford Burleigh, Captain of Carnmoney Volunteer Company, 25 Feby., at Thurot's invasion.

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trampled upon the ſacred LAWS of humanity and honeſty? Does not experience prove there can be no hold had of ſuch a *man*, who (notwithſtanding the rod that hangs over him) perſiſts in keeping the ſick priſoners in the hoſpital upon half allowance, which cannot coſt him more than two-pence per day for each man, when His Majeſty's Bounty is no leſs than twelve-pence---(ſee ſergeant major *Keith*'s, and lieutenant *Stewart*'s affidavits, Appendix, Numb. II. and IV.)

How greatly would it redound to the honour of our country, and how greatly would it alleviate theſe men's misfortunes, who we know "are poor and naked, and poor and naked without a crime" if means could be found to cloath them; which it is apprehended may be done with the utmoſt propriety, by ſtopping two-pence to two-pence half-penny per day out of the ſixpence allowed each man; as it is moſt certain a quantity of proviſions may be bought for three-pence half-penny, or very little more; which will exceed each man's conſumption-----(See lieut. *Stewart*'s eſtimate annex'd to col. *Higginſon*'s letter, Appendix, Number I.)

WHEN the priſoners can be fed ſo cheaply, and when a rapacious Commiſſary clears thereby at leaſt * £528 7 7⅔ per annum at the expenſe of ſuch objects, how can the publick

* Colonel HIGGINSON'S Letter.

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publick help joining with colonel *Higginſon*, "That ſuch enormous abuſes are a reproach to that town, which (when known) allows them to be continued?"

WHY then ſhou'd Mr. *Stanton* or any man be tamely allowed thus "to make a fortune "at the expence of ſuch objects, and the "character which thoſe nations are ſo juſtly "intitled to, for their unparrelelled humanity" when it is known ſeveral gentlemen of fair repute have propoſed to the Commiſſioners to pay the priſoners in caſh or otherwiſe, His Majeſty's Bounty without deduction?

IT is preſumed, that enough has been ſaid to vindicate the neceſſity and propriety of the conduct of the gentlemen, who at colonel *Higginſon*'s inſtance ſought the relief of theſe men; yet as a counter remonſtrance has been ſent to the Commiſſioners, tending to ſhow, that an impoſition has been put upon them, by entitling the remonſtrance from the town, the remonſtrance of the Sovereign, Burgeſſes, and principal Inhabitants thereof; it here becomes neceſſary to elucidate that proceeding ſome what more, and refer any reader not yet ſatisfied of its propriety and neceſſity, to the affidavits of meſſieurs *William Haven*, *John Campbell*, *Archibald Henning*, and *James Ballentine*. (ſee Appendix, Numb. V. VI. VII. VIII.)

COL. *Higginſon* addreſſed his letter to the

B principal

1760, Mar. 28—List of all the Volunteers at Thurot's invasion. Co. Antrim 2,249, Co. Down 2,578, Co. Armagh 528.

,, April 8—French General Flobert left Belfast 5 April for Dublin, where he stayed with Lord Rawdon at Ussher's Quay.

,, ,, 11—French prisoners of war to be shipped to France in two ships in a fortnight.

,, ,, 11—Genuine and curious Memoirs of Thurot, published by Daniel Blow, price 4d., written by Rev. Francis Durand. No copy of this pamphlet is known to exist.

,, ,, 15—Two copper plate prints to be engraved of the fight between Thurot and Capt. Elliott. There are copies of these rare engravings at Ardrie.

,, ,, 25—Defence of Belfast during Thurot's invasion, cost £1,365 7 0, to be refunded by Legislature.

,, May 13—416 French prisoners of war left Belfast last Saturday 10th, in two ships for France, on the foot of the cartel, for exchange of prisoners, but seamen are not yet permitted to go.

,, Oct. 7—184 French prisoners of war brought back to Belfast from Tullamore, where they were sent when Thurot landed at Kilroot in February last.

,, ,, 17—Reduction of Montreal and Canada. Great rejoicing.

,, Nov. 4—King George III. proclaimed in Belfast.

1761, Jan. 13—Major Joseph Higginson, 62nd Regiment, was presented by the inhabitants of Belfast with a large silver cup for his vigilance and activity here during Thurot's invasion.

,, Feb. 20—Carrickfergus Castle wall altered. Place put in defence.

,, ,, 27—French prisoners of war confined in Belfast Barracks. Notice of Enquiry signed by Sovereign on 3 March about complaints concerning sick and wounded seamen.

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principal part of the Community in the town of *Belfaſt*, *viz.* to the Sovereign, Burgeſſes, and principal Inhabitants, and not to any diſtinct part thereof; wherefore, had the Sovreign ſummoned the Burgeſſes, without the principal Inhabitants, or the principal Inhabitants without the Burgeſſes, he would have acted moſt improperly, becauſe it was addreſſed to both; and as three of the ſeven Burgeſſes then reſident, ſigned the remonſtrance, and they therein particularly diſtinguiſhed as ſuch; how can there proſſibly be an impropriety in the title, or the ſmalleſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that any impoſition is, or was intended to be put upon the Commiſſioners?

DID the Inhabitants of *Belfaſt* want a ſpirit of extenſive charity, a much more particular and diſmal detail of the ſufferings of the Priſoners might be laid before them and the PUBLICK; but as it muſt give pain to many, and is unneceſſary, from the attention already ſhewn theſe unhappy men; it only remains to ſay ſomewhat to conquer the prejudices of thoſe (if any there be) who conſider theſe Priſoners as ſtanding in no relation to them.

BUT how can there be any ſuch, when a moment's conſideration, and every motive moral and political---forcibly inclines us to adminiſter to the neceſſities of all men?

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CAN we view God in any other light than the common Father and friend of man? "And to be perfect, even as our Father "which is in Heaven is perfect," is to imitate the moral perfections of his nature, which we know ever incline him to relieve the neceſſities of the whole rational world.

BUT if we neglect to imitate God herein, and contemn the injunction our SAVIOUR left us, *to cloath the naked, and do good to our Enemies*; with what face can we publickly pray God to deliver us from * "all uncharitableneſs?" How can we beſeech him "to "ſuccour, help and comfort all that are "in neceſſity and tribulation, to defend "and provide for, all that are deſolate "and oppreſſed, to ſhew his pity upon all "Priſoners and Captives, and to have mer-"cy upon all men?" Will he not, in his own good time, avenge ſuch mockery of him, and ſay, *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirſty, and you gave me no drink; naked, and you cloathed me not; ſick, and in priſon, and you viſited me not: for verily I ſay unto you, in as much as you did it not to one of the leaſt of theſe, ye did it not to me.*

* The Litany in the Book of Common Prayer.

FINIS.

1761, Mar. 13—Particulars of Enquiry. This is the subject of the reprint.

,, ,, 31—Edward Brice appointed agent instead of Samuel Stanton discharged, over the French prisoners of war. Edward Brice afterwards changed his name to Kingsmill, and died at Castle Chichester, now Whitehead.

,, April 24—Corporation of weavers at Carrickfergus present Lieut. Hull, Adjutant of 62nd Regiment, with the freedom of the town in a silver box.

,, Sept. 25—Three French prisoners of war escape from the prison at Belfast. Reward offered for their capture.

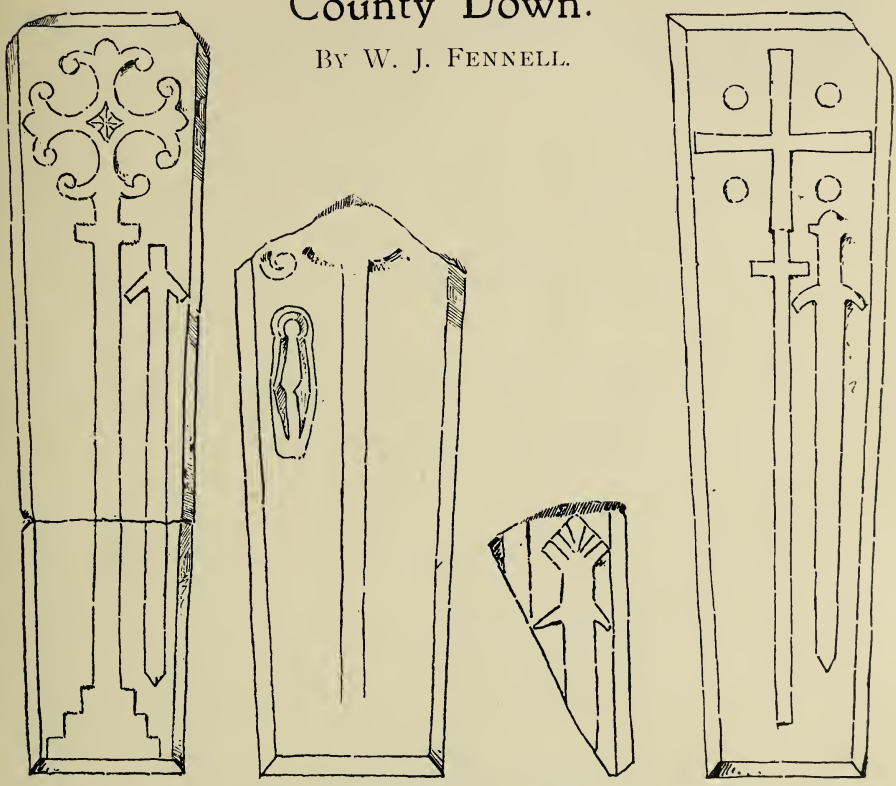
1763, May 27—Sailed on Monday last, 23rd, the ship "Prince of Wales" with 309 French prisoners for St. Malos, and the brig "Edward" with 90 prisoners for Bordeaux, being the last batch of prisoners.

By the above it will be seen a cup was presented to Major Higginson and a box to Lieutenant Hill. Where are these pieces of silver now?

(To be continued.)

Norman Cuniform Stones in the Ardes, County Down.

By W. J. Fennell.



NORMAN CUNIFORM STONES AT WHITECHURCH, BALLYWALTER, CO. DOWN.

CROSS-SLAB AT ARDQUIN, IN THE ARDES, CO. DOWN.

THE fragments of three of these interesting memorials of Norman times are at present lying in the graveyard at Teampull-fion, or Whitechurch, Ballywalter, Co. Down. As they were uncared for, and in danger of being covered up by grave excavations, permission has been sought for, and given to the writer, to have them erected against the wall of the old ruined church, and so conserved.

The stone at present in the old church, in the parish of Ardquin (Ard-cuinn, or Conn's height), on the east coast of Strangford Lough, is, we are glad to say, beyond the reach of harm, by being firmly fixed against the east wall of the old sanctuary. When we saw it, we felt a feeling of satisfaction in the thought that there really has been someone who considered these memorials of forgotten warriors worthy of preservation.

Lord Castlesteuart.

IN an old quarto volume there is an account of this curious episode relating to Lord Castlesteuart. The following is the title-page :

THE

HISTORY

Of

MR. JOHN WELSH

Minister of the Gospel

at

AIRE:

Together with two Prophesies of Mr. Alexander Peadine a little before he Dyed.

GLASGOW,
Printed by Hugh Brown, Anno Dom, M.DCC.XIII.

John Welsh was married to Elizabeth Knox, the daughter of the Scottish Reformer. In the biographical sketch of John Welsh occurs the following passage :

" There was in his House amongst many others who tabled with him for good Education, a young Gentleman of great Quality, and suitable Expectations, and this was the Heir of the Lord Ochiltry, who was Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh. Always this young Nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr. Welsh's Affections, fell sick of a grievous Sickness, and after he had been long wasted with it, closed his Eyes, and Expired, as dying Men use to do, so to the Apprehension and Sense of all Spectators, he was no more but a Carcase, and was therefore taken out of his Bed, and laid upon

a Pallat on the Floor, that his Body might be the more conveniently dressed, as Dead Bodies used to be. This was to Mr. Welsh a very great Grief, and therefore he stayed with the young Man's dead body full three Hours, lamenting over him with great Tenderness. After Twelve Hours, Friends brought in a Coffine, whereinto they desired the Corps to be put, as the Custom is; but Mr. Welsh desired, that for the satisfaction of his Affections, they would forbear the Youth for a Time, which they granted, and returned not till Twenty four Hours after his Death were expired; Then they returned, desiring with great Importunity the Corps might be Coffined, that it might be speedily buried, the Weather being extremely hot; Yet he persisted in his Request, earnestly begging them to excuse him for once more; so they left the Youth upon his Pallat for full Thirty six Hours. But even after all that, though he was urged, not only with great earnestness but displeasure, they were constrain'd to forbear for Twelve Hours yet more; After Fourty Eight Hours were past, Mr. Welsh was still where he was, and then his Friends perceived he believed the young Man was not really Dead, but under some Apoplectick Fitt, and therefore proponed to him for his satisfaction, that tryal should be made upon his Body by Doctors and Chirurgions, if possibly any spark of Life might be found in him, and with this he was content. So the Phisicians are set on Work, who pincht him with pincers in the Fleshy Parts of his Body, and twisted a Bow-string about his Head with great Force, but no sign of Life appeared in him, so the Phisicians pronounce him stark Dead, and then there was no more delay to be desired. Yet Mr. Welsh begged them once more, that they would but step in to the next Room for an Hour or two, and leave him with the Dead Youth, and this they granted; Then Mr. Welsh fell down before the Pallat, and cryed to the Lord with all his Might for the last Time, and sometimes looking upon the Dead Body, continuing in wrestling with the Lord, till at length the dead Youth open'd his Eyes, and cryed out to Mr. Welsh whom he distinctly knew, 'O Sir, I am whole, but my Head and Legs,' And these were the places they had sore hurt with their pinching.

"When Mr. Welsh perceived this, he called upon his Friends, and showed them the Dead Young Man restored to Life again, to their great astonishment. And this young Nobleman though his Father lost the Estate of Ochiltrie, lived to acquire a great Estate in Ireland, and was Lord Castlesteuart, and a Man of such excellent Parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Strafford to be a Counseller in Ireland,

which he refused to be, until the Godly silenced Scotish Ministers, who suffered under the Bishops in the North of Ireland were restored to the Exercise of their Ministry, and then he engaged, and so continued for all his Life, not only in Honour and Power, but in the Profession and Practice of Godliness, to the great Comfort of the Country where he lived. This Story the Nobleman communicate to his Friends in Ireland, and from them I had it."

[NOTE.—There is a lengthened account of these Steuarts in Lodge's *Peerage*, vol. vi, page 236, but no mention is made of the above incident. Margaret, daughter of Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, married John Knox. So the Welshes and Stewarts were related.—ED.]

Bronze Serpentine Latchets,

and other cumbrous Dress Fasteners.

BY COL. WOOD-MARTIN, A.D.C.

GABRIEL BERANGER, the well-known eighteenth century Dutch-Irish artist-antiquary, was staying at the castle of Slane, County Meath, in the summer of 1779, when a much-damaged antique was found by labourers sinking a trench in the park. The digging was carefully resumed, and another perfect specimen was turned up. Such, it is believed, is the first recorded discovery of a bronze serpentine latchet in Ireland. It is to be noted that the after-history of discoveries of this class of objects points to their being found in couples, or at least as not reposing in Mother Earth in solitary state.

In his diary Beranger gives an elaborate description of this article, accompanied by a drawing, apparently a faithful representation of the left-hand portion of fig. 1, plate i; or of an antique of exactly similar shape and proportions. Beranger describes it as "an unknown instrument," and continues: "It is fastened, with three rivets, on another piece of flat brass (bronze), which is broken. Whether the two machines were fastened together, or to something else, is indeterminable at this time; two pieces of small wire, like the worms of a cork-screw, were fastened to the large wire, and when shook gave a rattling sound. May be it was some musical instrument, or part of one."

Beranger merely hazarded the opinion in his diary that such might have been the use of these objects; but Vallancey, writing in 1783, probably with this MS. description before him—as several drawings

and passages in his *Coll. de Rebus Hib.* are self-evidently taken from Beranger's sketches and MSS.—went "one better." He designated the bronze antique a "crotal or cymbal." Now, for whatever use this class of objects was designed—six specimens were dug up at Slane—it is clear that they were not musical instruments, as they are inherently incapable of emitting any sound, save such as is given out by an ordinary piece of metal struck by another piece of metal, or some such equally hard material. Vallancey however figured two of these objects joined together (*Coll. de Rebus Hib.*, vol. iv, p. 44, plate vii,

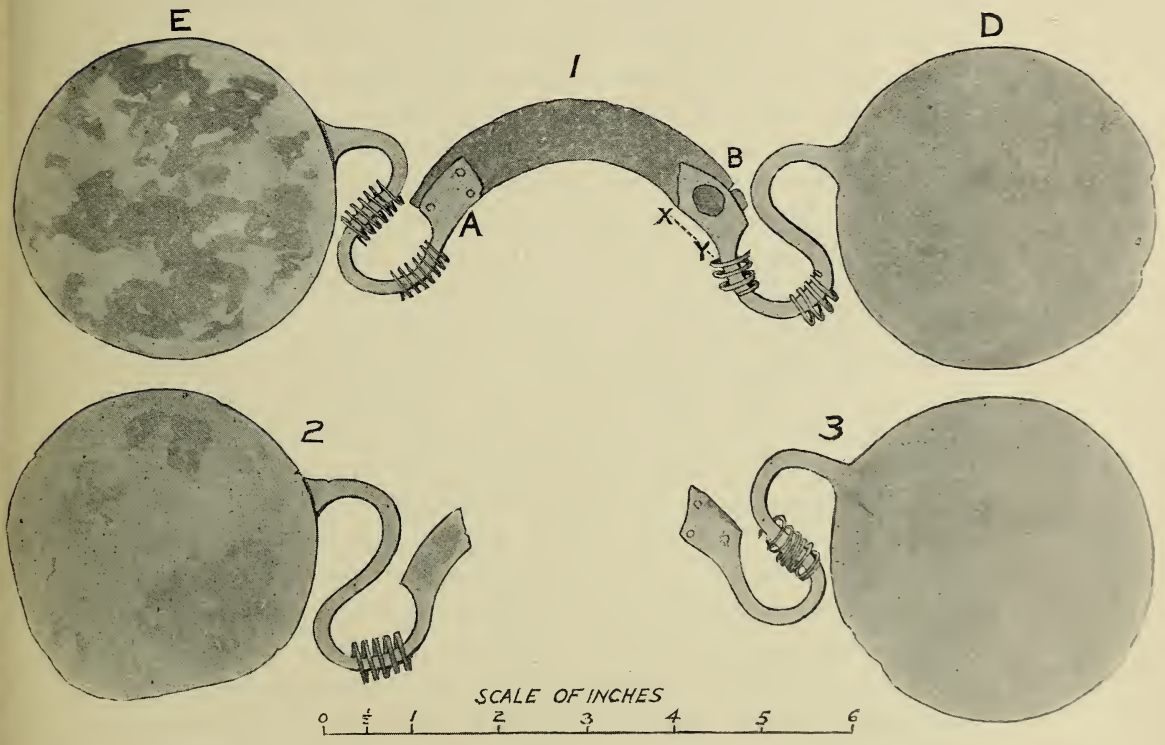


Plate I.
BRONZE SERPENTINE LATCHETS OF THE FIRST VARIETY.
In the Science and Art Museum, Dublin.
Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

fig. 1), having an approximate overall length of about 13 inches. It is a very clumsy "restoration," such as might be expected from, but could scarcely be equalled by, the "restoring"-inclined officials of the present Board of Works. Vallancey ignores Beranger in connection with this interesting discovery at Slane. Gough, in his edition of Camden, Sedwick, and other writers on the subject, accepts the illustration and text in *Coll. de Rebus Hib.* as correct.

Though subsequent investigation has demonstrated that bronze serpentine latchets are not musical instruments, yet, on the other hand, there still seems to exist considerable doubt, in archæological minds, as to their use. The theory now in the field is that they were latchets or fasteners, the curved serpentine-like stem being passed through eyelet holes in the garment. But whether the disc was used as a button, or whether it was attached to the garment and the spiral used as a button, is left to sartorial authority, of more experience than the writer's, to decide. If employed—like the Tara-brooch style of fasteners—to secure the garment on the shoulder, there would be little or no strain on the latchet. It may be urged that some of these articles appear too large to be used as dress fasteners. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that in many old MS. tales reference is made to the enormous size of cloak-fasteners. From their strange shape the late Sir William Wilde styled those now under discussion *Spectacle Brooches:* a designation which has ever since clung to them. It has been suggested that *Serpentine Latchets* would be a more appropriate appellation, and savouring less of anachronism.

Fig. 1, plate i, if not the latchet mentioned by Wilde as being then in Trinity College, corresponds in shape and size to his description. It is evident that the two discs were joined together, at a comparatively recent period, probably just prior to the publication of Vallancey's work. This joining was effected by a large copper rivet (shown at B), and in the operation the perpetrator of the vandalism cracked the extremity of the flat semi-circular appendage, or stem (as shown at B). The riveted joint, at the other end of the arch (A) is apparently a portion of the original design. The discs do not match; the angles at which the stems leave them differ considerably, as do also the small wire coils or helices; those on the stem of disc D (four coils) are shorter and of thicker wire than the helices on disc E (seven coils). There is a ledge distinctly visible, where the stem is attached to disc E, caused by the latter being thinner than the stem. A similar ledge is apparent at the corresponding point on disc D, but on the reverse side. In each case this ledge is on only one side of the object, perhaps the back, or what for distinction may be so designated. It is therefore evident that when the disc D was riveted on to the arch, to make it fit, it had to be reversed, and what may be termed its face turned toward the gazer. It may be also noticed that the curve of the arched appendix, or stem, from disc E differs from that of the end of the stem of disc D, and a portion of the

inside edge of the arch has been, comparatively recently, hammered to make it correspond with the curve of the stem of disc D (X to Y). The two faces of the object are identical, except that the face shown on plate i, fig. 1, displays the riveting somewhat more clearly than the others. It weighs 4 ozs. 13 dwts. 12 grs. There is no information as to where this serpentine latchet—or rather latchets—was found, or how it came into the collection of the R.I.A.[1]

Figs. 2 and 3, plate i, could not possibly have formed parts of the same latchet. The spiral coils, or helices, differ in number; the width of the flat portion of the stems is unsymmetrical. If the two objects were joined together, as in fig. 1, the face of the one disc and the back of the other would be on the same side, as may be seen on looking at plate i, which shows the back of fig. 2 and the face of fig. 3. Both these objects were presented to the Museum by Miss Saunderson. Fig. 2 weighs 1 oz. 5 dwts.; fig. 3, 1 oz. 1 dwt. 12 grs. It must not be overlooked, as before stated, that disc D (fig. 1, plate i) is reversed. If it were not—that is to say, if both discs turned corresponding faces to the observer—the shape of the brooch would be most eccentric; and, as previously explained, to make the shape symmetrical, when joining the discs together, one was turned over, so that the back of the one and the front of the other are on the same side. It cannot be assumed that both discs belong to the same brooch. They were joined together at a comparatively recent date, and there is no evidence that they were even found at the same place; the difference in the helices would alone be enough to indicate that they were not a pair. When making the drawings of these objects, Gerald Wakeman tried if either of the other two separate discs could be fitted in the place of disc D, or to the other separate one unreversed, while preserving the symmetrical form of the brooch, but failed. The only conclusion to be arrived at seems to be that all four discs are "odd ones." The question then arises, why were the corresponding discs not found? Is it certain that the end of the arched portion was ever attached to a disc?

In figs. 1, 2, and 3, plate i, the flat serpentine appendix, or stem, to the disc is prolonged by another flat, semi-circular piece of metal secured by rivets. How this latter terminated is more or less left to conjecture; but plate ii shows three examples of serpentine latchets, of what may be designated the second variety. In these the appendix, or stem, is in one piece, not flat—as in the first variety shown on

[1] Information kindly furnished by Gerald Wakeman.

plate i—but of rounder form. In one instance (fig. 1) the stem terminates in a point; in the other two instances (figs. 2 and 3), in small discs. Fig. 1 still retains the wire spiral, or helix; figs. 1 and 2 have rude ornamentation on the acus; whilst the centre of the disc of fig. 3 displays a pattern similar to that on a bone disc found in a souterrain in County Sligo, and on the same class of objects from lake dwellings, in which the bone, or other material, often bears traces of the marks

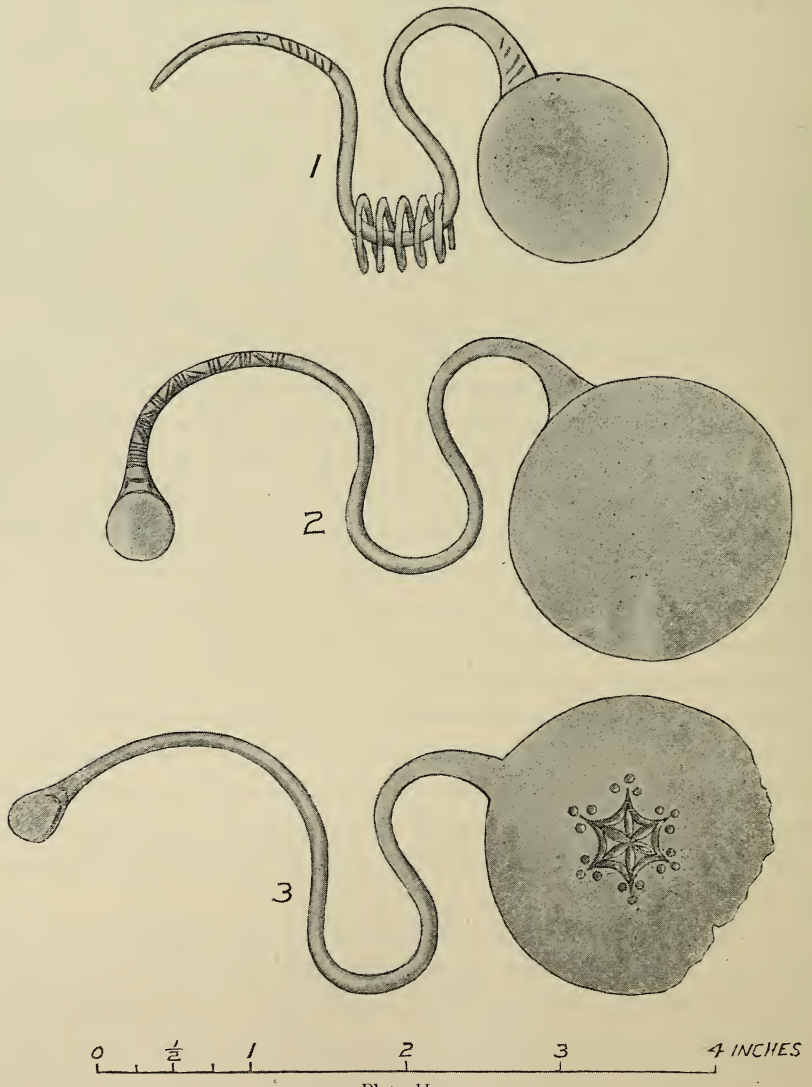


Plate II.

BRONZE SERPENTINE LATCHETS OF THE SECOND VARIETY.

In the Science and Art Museum, Dublin.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

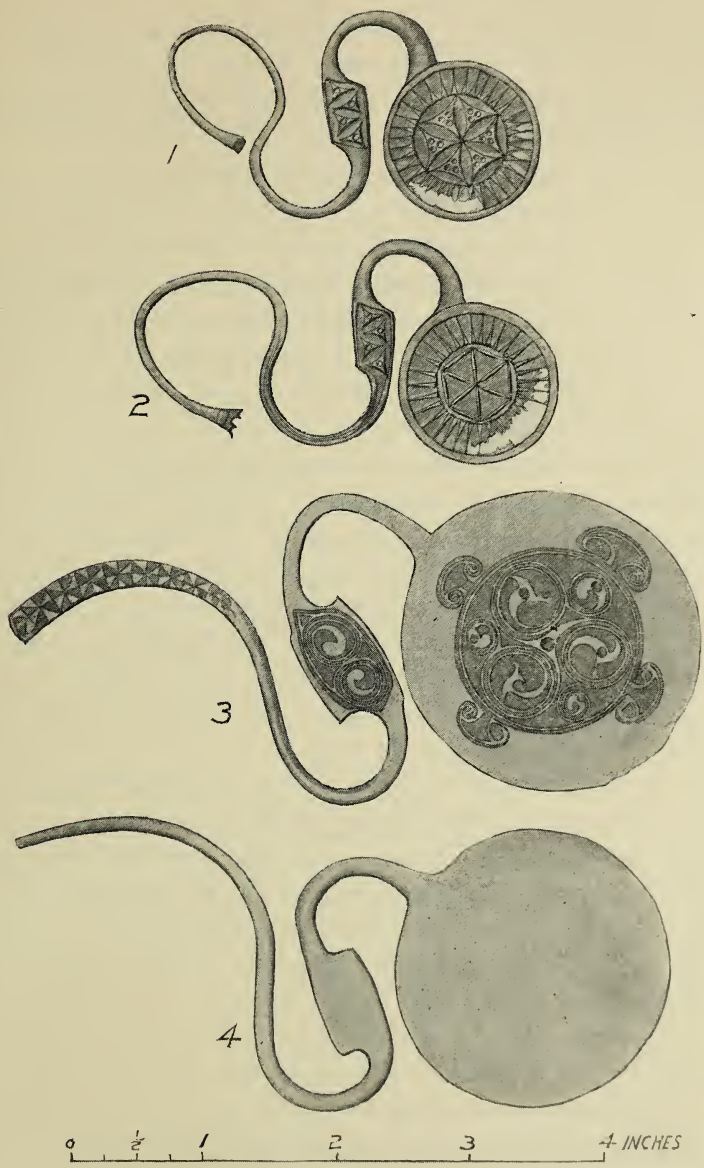


Plate III.

BRONZE SERPENTINE LATCHETS OF THE THIRD VARIETY.

Drawn by Gerald Wakeman.

Figs. 1, 2, and 4 are from the collection of R. Day, F.S.A., who kindly allowed drawings to be made.

Figs. 1 and 2 found near Newry.

Fig. 4 from Portora, Lough Erne, 1886.

Fig. 3 is in the Science and Art Museum; no information.

Figs. 1 and 2 weigh 9 dwts. each. They were found with two others perfectly similar in County Down. Purchased by the late James Glenny, at the sale of whose antiquities they were dispersed. Two went to the Belfast Museum, and two to R. Day's collection.

Fig. 3 weighs 1 oz. 5 dwts. 10 grs.

Fig. 4 weighs 1 oz. 4 dwts. 4 grs. Illustrated by R. Day in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii, p. 52.

of the metallic compass with which the pattern was described. Figs. 1, 2, and 3 are in the Science and Art Museum; no information as to where they were found is obtainable. Fig. 1 weighs 15 dwts.; fig. 2, 15 dwts. 6 grs.; fig. 3, 1 oz. 2 grs.

Plate iii presents four examples of the third and most advanced variety of the serpentine latchet. The spiral wire coils, or helices, are wanting; nor is it probable that they were ever present, as the enlargement on the central portion of the first bend of the stem, or acus, near the disc, probably acted in their stead as a catch to hold the serpentine-like pin from slipping. Fig. 4 is undecorated. Figs. 1 and 2 are covered with ornamentation similar to, but more elaborate than, that presented by fig. 3, plate ii.

Fig. 3 (one of the largest and best serpentine latchets as yet found in Ireland) is elaborately ornamented, as well on the disc as on the serpentine prolongation. The decoration is of late Irish character; that on the disc and central enlargement of the stem partakes of the cornuted pattern, as well as of the bird-like designs on the heads of bronze pins and brooches found in Irish lake dwellings; whilst that at the extremity of the stem resembles the patterns displayed on bone ornaments from the same sites, and which brings down the use of serpentine latchets to a very late date.

It is thought that this form of latchet is confined to Ireland.

Attention may be drawn to the similarity between the ornamentation and that displayed on iron sword scabbards from the lake settlement of Marin, in Switzerland, and to some designs in the Book of Kells. As a rule, the dissimilarity of ornamentation is so marked between ancient Irish and Central European art, that similarity is the more remarkable. The origin of the civilization may be the same; yet it is generally easy to distinguish what is Northern, mid-European, or Southern in early ornament, as each division originated more or less marked individualities. Characteristic Celtic ornamentation of much later date can be traced right across Europe, but nowhere so highly developed as in the British Isles. Enamelled discs with similar eccentric designs are found on Saxon bowls (*Archæologia*, vol. lvi, p. 41). Again, Ireland, through no fault of its own, was chronically behind the times. Most things seem to have taken longer to reach Ireland than Great Britain. To counterbalance this, Irish art characteristics remained for centuries unaltered. Powder horns exhibit eighth-century designs.

(To be continued.)

Warrant for the Gift of a Cup to Conn O'Neill, 1550.

By James Buckley.

Conn Bacach O'Neill was inaugurated chief of the O'Neills in 1519: a position that brought and kept him closely in touch with the rough and uncertain usages of Irish warfare. In the following year he invaded the English settlements of Meath, but retreated, before the Lord-Deputy Surrey, to the fastnesses of Ulster, whither he could not be pursued. He soon afterwards acknowledged Henry VIII. as his sovereign, and the King sent Surrey a collar of gold for him as a token of pardon and friendship (*Carew Papers, 1515-74*, p. 15). Presents from the King or the Privy Council of England to an Irish chief are never known to have followed on the defeat of the chief, and were forthcoming only when the power of the former was capable of being held at defiance by the latter. For the following ten years Conn scarcely sheathed his sword. In 1540 Sir Antony St. Leger was appointed Deputy, and wrote to the King in reference to the management of Irish chiefs: "I perceive them to be men of such nature that they will much sooner be brought to honest conformity by small gifts, honest persuasions, and nothing taking of them, than by great rigour."[1] Owing to the humane and skilful policy adopted by St. Leger, most of the Irish chiefs exhibited a general disposition to submit. O'Neill and O'Donnell held aloof, but eventually repaired to England in 1542, when the former renounced his ancient title—"The O'Neill"—and was created Earl of Tyrone. The *personnel* of the Government underwent constant change in those days; and Lords-Deputy succeeded each other at a very rapid rate. On the death of Sir Francis Bryan, an English adventurer, in February 1550, St. Leger was, for the fourth time, appointed Lord-Deputy, and remained in office until May 1551; and it was probably following out the policy previously recommended by him of bestowing petty gifts on dangerous, half-conquered chiefs—more in the spirit of fear than of love—that the following warrant (which is copied from the original in the British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 6362) was executed.

[1] Quoted in Joyce's *Short History of Ireland*, 2nd ed., Lon., 1895, p. 384.

By the King.

Edward

We by thadvife and confent of o^r prevey Counfayle comaunde you that imediatly vpon the fight hereof ye delyver or cauſe to be delyverid vnto o^r truſtie and welbeloued Counfayllo^r Sr Anthony Seyntliger knight of o^r Order by hym to be conveyed and delyverid as o^r gyft to the Erle of Terron in Irelande oone standing Cup guilte wth a cover weying Thyrtie ounce and a half. And thiefe o^r Sres ſhalbe your ſufficient warraunte and diſcharge in this behalf. Gouen vnder o^r Signet at o^r manor of Grenewich the ſixth of Apriell The fourth yere of o^r Reigne.

To o^r truſtie and welbeloued
Serte Sr Anthony Ancher
Knight M^r of o^r Iuell & plate.

T. Cant.[1] R. Ryche, Canc.[2] W. Wiltshire.
J. Bedford H. Dorsett Th. Wentworth & T. Ely[3]
W. Herbert. T. Darcy

The same cupe reſſeuyd by me the sayd Antony to the vsse afforsayd.

Antony Sentlegr.

Crannogs, or Artificial Islands,

in the Counties of Antrim and Derry.

By the late Right Rev. William Reeves, Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore.

(Reprint of a Pamphlet printed at the University Press, Dublin, 1860.)

[The discovery of Crannogs is often very difficult, owing to their depression, and the absence of any external building. In either extreme of wet or dryness they are likely to escape notice; a slight increase in the water level submerges, and they are hidden; drainage exposes them, and they are destroyed. Nor can they claim the exemption from injury which the Raths on dry land have for ages enjoyed. There is no scruple in levelling Crannogs, inasmuch as the fairies have no jurisdiction over them; and the peasant who tears one to pieces for its supposed treasures—or, what is more practical, its actual timber—has nothing to apprehend in the way of ill-luck, as a consequence, either to himself or his family.]

THE following communications were made to the Royal Irish Academy at two of their evening meetings,—the former as a sequel to Sir William Wilde's interesting paper upon the subject of Crannogs, on the 11th of April, 1859, from the "Proceedings" of which day (vol. vii., p. 153) it is here reprinted; the latter on the

[1] Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. [2] Richard Ryche, Lord Chancellor.
[3] Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.

14th of November, 1859, also reprinted from the "Proceedings" (vol. vii., p. 163).

Three other supposed Crannogs in the county of Antrim deserve to be included in the present recital, namely, the Island of Loch Leithinnsi (Inis Loca Leithinnsi), and the Island of Loch Burrann (Inis Loca Burrann), mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1544, as among the strongholds of Mac Quillin of the Route; to which is to be added one in the neighbourhood of Belfast.

1. Loch Leithinnsi, commonly known as *Lough Lynch*, situate in the parish of Billy, about 3½ miles south-east of Bushmills, was about an English mile in circumference, and nearly equally divided between the townlands of Loughlynch and Glassaneeran Upper. It is laid down on Lendrick's Map and the Ordnance Survey (Antrim, sheet 7), where the modern caprice of townland distribution is exemplified in the anomaly of assigning the little island to the latter townland, though it gives name to the former. In the year 1820, the draining of this lake, which in some parts was 13 feet deep, was commenced, and has been carried on so far that what was once an island is now a knoll, and only distinguishable by its elevation from the adjacent land. In the process of draining, an oak boat was discovered, 15 feet long, and 3 wide at stern, hollowed out of a single tree, and having a plug-hole at the bottom. There was also found a rude iron instrument, greatly corroded. About 20 acres were recovered from the water, and the island, which is in diameter about 17 yards, has a number of loose stones scattered over it, together with traces of a circular embankment enclosing it. One local tradition concerning it is, that a woman once fled hither for refuge, and gave birth to a child, who in after times was known as Col Kittagh. Another is, that Owen Magee, after the battle of Orra, slew Mac Quillin here, who was buried on the spot, and that the stones just mentioned formed his cairn. See Reeves's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities," p. 287.

2. Loch Burrann has not yet been satisfactorily identified. In the work just referred to (p. 286), a place called *Loughaverra*, in the townland of Maghernahar, at the south-east of the parish of Ballintoy, has been proposed; but there is no trace of lake or island to be found there.

3. Ballycranocke was formerly the name of a townland in the parish of Shankill or Belfast. It is now represented by Ballymurphy. Here, in the fork of the Falls and Collon Roads, is a spot called Calendar's Fort, on which are the faint traces of an ancient chapel.

This building, which belonged to the Abbey of Bangor, is called in an Inquisition of 1609 "Capella de Cranoge," and in a Patent of the same period "The Chapel of Cranoge in Tuogh Fall." It probably derived its name from its occupying a site once artificially formed in marshy ground. See Reeves's "Eccles. Antiq.," p. 184.

FIRST PAPER.

The most valuable of the Ulster Inquisitions is one which was sped at Antrim on the 12th of July, 1605, to ascertain the bounds and contents of the territory of Lower Clandeboy. It remains of record, but the original is in part illegible. A good office copy, however, which was produced in 1692, in the cause of Dr. Lemuel Mathews against Dr. Claudius Gilbert, and was recently re-employed in the cause of Templemore and Donegall, is preserved among the See papers of Down and Connor. In it I found the four following notices of Crannogs in the county of Antrim :—

I. "*Tuogh Munterrividy*:—Et quod est infra metas et bundas ejusdem le tuogh quoddam stagnum vocatum Loughernegilly in quo est insula fortificata."

The territory of Munterrividy comprehended the parishes of Drummaul and Shilvodan, with parts of Antrim and Connor, and forms the eastern portion of the present barony of Upper Toome. The north-western boundary is represented as passing through a certain moor, called "the bogg of Moan-loughernagilly," leaving the lake called Loughernagilly in this tuogh. This name is now utterly unknown in the district, and the moin or "bog," to which it gave title, is a large tract of turf made up of Kilnock bog, Aughterclony bog, Ballybollen bog, and Gillistown bog, being portions of the parishes of Drummaul, Ahoghill, and the Grange, which meet here.[1]

The lake, of which about two-thirds lie in the townland of Kilknock, and the rest in Ballybollen and Gillistown, is situate in the north-west angle of the parish of Drummaul, and is commonly known as Kilknock Lough. In former times it covered about fifty acres, but was drained about the end of last century by Captain O'Neill of Ballyminstra. By this drainage the Crannog was brought to light, and the oak piles on which it was constructed were exposed. It is described by those who remember it as of a nearly circular form, and about 60 feet in diameter. There were also the remains of a wooden hut on it, constructed of oak

[1] Ordnance Survey, county of Antrim, sheet 37, N.W. corner.

beams. These timbers were removed, and some of them at present form part of the roof of a neighbouring barn. An old boat was found at the same time in the lough. Owing to some disputes which afterwards arose as to the ownership of the drained land, the outlets of the water were allowed to close up, and in consequence a considerable portion of the former bed was again submerged, and the island, from fresh deposits, lost its original shape. A few years back there were four or five acres of clear water surrounding the island, the remainder of the lough being a marsh. The island can be reached by wading, but it is only distinguishable from the rest of the marsh by its firmness. The tops of the oak piles are covered to a considerable depth with soft boggy matter, but can be felt with a pole seven or eight feet long. They are said to be about two feet in diameter. A paved causeway, which was covered to the depth of eight or nine feet with bog, leads down to what used to be the edge of the water. The bog around the lake is thickly studded with trunks of oak-trees, varying from one to three feet in diameter, and has evidently been at a remote period the site of an extensive wood.

II. "*Tuogh-Nefuigh:*—Est in eodem tuogh quidam lacus vocatus Loughdireare in quo est insula fortificata."

This territory, which includes the parishes of Duneane, Cranfield, and the Grange, is commonly called *the Feevah*, which name, as also *ne Fuigh* in the above compound, is evidently the Irish Fiodhadh, "wooded land." It forms the western portion of the present barony of Upper Toome.[1] About two miles west of Randalstown, on the road to Toome, is Derryhollagh, a townland in the parish of Duneane.

In this was a bog-lake, called in modern times Loughravel, a corruption of the ancient Loughdireare.[2] This is the place referred to in Wilde's communication.

III. "*Tuogh de Muntercallie:*—Est in eodem le tuogh quidam lacus sive stagnum vocatum Loughtoman, in quo est insula fortificata."

The name Muntercally, in Irish Muinter Cheallaigh, "family of Kelly," is now locally forgotten. The district, however, included that portion of the parish of Ahoghill which is situate in Lower Toome, west of the Main Water.[3]

Loughtamand, as it is now called by the country people, is a lakelet which has been drained, situate in Lisnahunshin, a townland of the

[1] Called Fiodhaid in the gloss on the Feilire at Oct. 30. Dun-da-en, "fort of two birds," now Duneane, is there said to be in it. See Reeves's "Eccles. Antiq.," pp. 86, 300.

[2] Ordnance Survey, county of Antrim, sheets 43 and 49.

[3] Ordnance Survey, county of Antrim, sheet 31, N.E. corner.

parish of Craigs, but previously to 1835 in that of Ahoghill. It lies on the road from Ahoghill to Rasharkin, being about 4½ miles north-west of the former village.

The lough is bordered on the east and south by traces of bog, and enclosed on the north and west by hills, three in number, from two of which the country slopes down with a regular fall to the Bann. Between the hills on the north and north-west there is a considerable depression, and at this point a small stream flowed, carrying off the surface water, which, being deepened, served as a drain for the lough. Before the withdrawal of its contents, about thirty acres Irish were submerged, the water varying in depth from seven to ten feet. It was drained about forty years ago by Earl O'Neill's orders, but, from neglect of the drains, the water once more accumulated in the hollow. However, it has been again drained, and is now under pasture. The outline of the basin is well defined, and, on the east side, the banks of the bog which formed the margin are from twenty to thirty feet in perpendicular height. It is of an irregular oval shape, about a mile in circumference. The island is situated about the middle, but somewhat nearer to the north and east sides. It was visible even before the drainage, and had a stone house upon it, said to have been a stronghold of the Mac Quillins. The island was of a circular form, about seventy yards in diameter. In the draining operations the main cut was carried across the long diameter of the lough, from south-east to north-west, and ran through the middle of the island. In cutting this part of the drain, the workmen came upon several oak piles, which, on investigation, after the water of the lough was drained off, turned out to be the ribs of a Crannog, situate in the centre of the island. These piles were from seventeen to twenty feet long, and from six to eight inches thick, driven into the bed of the lough, and projecting above this bed about five or six feet. They were bound together at top by horizontal oak beams, in which they were mortised, and secured in the mortise by stout wooden pegs. Above the top of these piles there was about three or four feet depth of earth; and it was only when this earth had been removed, from time to time, that the wooden structure was discovered in its integrity. The piles were twenty-six in number, and were arranged in a circle of about fifteen yards diameter, in the centre of the island, and just under where the stone house stood. From the effect of cattle trampling over it, and persons digging down in search of treasure, the island is now reduced to the level of the surrounding ground. The horizontal beams have been removed, and used for

various purposes. Not more than a dozen of the piles now project above the surface, and that only about one or two feet. The drain just formed a tangent to the circle of piles, touching it on the east, where some of the piles were dragged up on being laid bare. During the draining operations a single-piece oak canoe was found, about thirty yards from the island on the north-west side. It was in tolerable preservation, and was removed to Portglenone House, where it remained for some time, till Lord O'Neill claimed and had it removed to Shane's Castle, where it is said to be still in existence. The following articles have been found in this island from time to time: two iron swords; a small anvil, very bright and clean; a pair of scales, and several small hammers; several gold pins; metal dishes; small axe-heads; an iron cauldron, of a low, dilated shape; and a stone of a yellowish-white colour, beautifully polished, about twelve inches long, three and a half broad, and two thick, accurately squared at the sides, having a round hole about an inch and a quarter deep, and half an inch in diameter at each end, the top surface and one of the sides being covered with carved devices. Lord O'Neill obtained the swords; the anvil, scales, and hammers were sold by the finder, for trifling sums, to a pedlar and rag-gatherer. The iron cauldron is in use as a potato pot. A quern also, which was found, is preserved in a neighbouring house. The polished stone was given by the finder to a friend, to make a "rubbing-bone" for his web. It is stated that a few feet below the present surface of the bed of the lough, a paved causeway of stone, about five feet broad, leads from the western margin of the lough across to the island. This establishes a striking similarity between the Crannog and some of the Swiss *pfahlbauten*.

IV. "*Tuogh de Clinaghartie:*—Et est in eodem le tuogh quidam lacus alias stagnum vocatus Loughinchefeaghny, in quo est insula similiter fortificata."

This territory comprises the parish of Kilconriola, with that portion of Ahoghill lying east of the Main Water, and represents the eastern section of the barony of Lower Toome. The name is preserved in the neighbourhood of Ballymena, in the form *Glenaghartie*, and one side of the first Presbyterian meeting-house there used to be called "the Glenagharty aisle." It is the Irish Clann Fhacharta, and refers to the sept who once occupied the tract.[1] About two miles and a half north-north-west of Ballymena the new road to Ballymoney passes through the townland of Loughmagarry, having on the right a low-lying

[1] See Reeves's "Eccles. Antiq.," p. 344.

rank meadow, which in winter becomes very moist.[1] This was formerly a lake similar to those above described until it was drained in the latter half of the last century by Hugh Campbell of Ballygarvey, the tenant under Adair. The island stood at the side of the lake, remote from the new road, and near the eastern margin, where the bank rises rather suddenly from the hollow. It is now merely a knoll, resembling a little gravel hill; but it is fresh in the recollection of the neighbours that it was a stockaded island, having an external framing of oak piles, and the interior composed of gravel and clay. It is stated that several articles of curiosity have been found here, but time has dispersed them all. The name of the townland bears no resemblance to that in the Inquisition, but the large townland which joins Loughmagarry on the west, and of which it appears to have been a sub-denomination, is called *the Fenagh*, that is, Fionach, and formerly gave name to the whole. The *Loughinchefeaghny* of the Inquisition is a compound of Loch-inse-fiodh-nach, "lake of the island of Feenagh."

These four Crannogs are interesting in a civil point of view, as being, each, the accompaniment or head-quarters of a small territorial chieftaincy. They were the little primitive capitals of the four Irish tuoghs or districts, which, being combined in pairs about the beginning of the seventeenth century, went to form two English half baronies, exactly preserving their main boundaries; and though the names and sites have for ages been forgotten, and find no place in the Ordnance Map or any other survey or description, yet, with the Inquisition of 1605 as the pioneer, they have been satisfactorily traced out.[2]

Together with these, it may be well to put on record the names of some other Crannogs which existed in the same and adjacent counties.

V. *Loch Crannagh.*—In the townland of Cross, over Benmore, in the parish of Culfeightrin, is the lake of the above name, covering twenty-four acres and a half. It is called from a small, but beautifully defined island, artificially formed in the centre of it.

VI. *Loughinsholin.*—A small lake, a little north-west of the village of Desertmartin, gives this name to the great barony in the south of the county of Derry. Correctly written it is Loch inse Ua Fhloinn, "Lake of Inis-O'Lynn." It was so called from *Inis Ua Fhloinn*, or "O'Lynn's Island," a small stockaded island situate near its eastern margin. It probably obtained this name while the O'Lynns,

[1] Ordnance Survey, county of Antrim, sheet 32.

[2] In identifying Nos. 1 and 3 there was considerable difficulty, and the merit of their discovery is due to William Millar of Ahoghill. No. 2 has been known to the writer for several years, and No. 4 was identified by him about 12 years ago.

or the Ui Tuirtre, were on the west of the Bann, ere they were forced by the O'Kanes into the south-west of the county of Antrim. The barony was formed in 1591 out of the two territories called Glenconkane and Killetra, and this little island must have been considered an important spot when the lakelet which contains it gave name to so great a tract.[1]

In Friar O'Mellan's Irish Journal of the Rebellion of 1642 we find the following notices of this island:—

1642, 27 April. Tanaic sluagh Cul ratain ar Cormac O Neill mac Fedhlim oig go Roilgeach dar cleachadh 'sodar marbadh a muintir leo .i. clann William. Arra sin doibh go loch inis i Luinn agus go Muine mor go traila in da shluagh a brogar da roile. Do cuinnigeadar iomad creach, agus do teitheadar na cormeachta go Dun Gemunn tar eis morán do lomadh. Do fill in gall co loch inis O Luinn. Do cuireadar Ruaidhri Ballach O Mellan diarraidh an oilein ar Seaan O Hagan mac Eogain mic Emuinn oig. Do diultsan fon [oilen] iad. Do sgaoilsead ar gunna mor baoi aca tri hurcuir, agus togsat de o sin amach. Fillsead da tigh go mor e a balac.

"The Coleraine detachments came upon Cormac O'Neill, son of Fedhlim Og, at Rayleagh, and robbed and killed his people, namely, the Clann William. Thence they proceeded to Lough-inis-olyn and to Moneymore, until the two forces were near one another. They collected a great deal of spoil, and the creaghts fled to Dungannon; after plundering extendedly, the English returned to Lough-inis-olyn. They sent Rory Ballagh O'Mellan to demand the island from Shane O'Hagan, son of John, son of Edmund Oge. It was refused them. They then fired three shots from a cannon which they had with them, and departed from the place, returning to their homes laden with spoil."

1643, Aug. 25. Do bi barradha Seain I Agan ar inis Luinn. Tangadar na naimhde da iarraidh, agus ni bfuaradar. Do tarruing siad sluit oile san loch 'sdo sdopadar an sluit do bi ag sileadh uadha, gur baitheadh an toilen. Do jugne baradaighe an oilein fasadh a tigh an oilen. Do marbadh seacht dib ar an arad le pilei gunna mor. Gidheadh diultsad an toilen do toirbeirt ar aon choir. Do chuaidh seacht dib san snamh gur bhur an coradh 'sgur imthigh an namhaid.

"Inis-O'Luin was garrisoned by Shane O'Hagan. The enemy came and called on them to surrender, which they refused to do. They then stopped up a stream which ran out of the lake, and turned the course of another into it, so that they contrived to flood the island.

[1] See the note in Primate Colton's Visitation, pp. 76, 125.

The garrison kept watch in the island-house, and one of their men was killed by a cannon-ball while on watch. However, they refused to surrender the island on any terms. One man, in attempting to swim away, had his legs broken. The enemy at length departed."

1645, March 7. Do loiſe muintiſ Agan Iniſ I Luinn duiſeſbaiḋ bl̇ta ſdo leanſat ſiaſ an ʒeneſal.

"The people of O'Hagan burned Inis O'Lynn, for want of provisions, and followed the General eastwards."

The island has been dismantled of its oak piles, and is now reduced to an unsightly bank, overgrown with reeds and bushes.

On the Ordnance Map the lake is named *Lough Shillin*,[1] which rather disguises the true form of the name.

(To be continued.)

Tiberius, Bishop of Down and Connor, 1489-1519.

By the Rev. James O'Laverty, P.P., M.R.I.A.

The extract which the Earl of Belmore, in his interesting article on "The Castle and Territory of Termon Magrath," gives from the letters of the Nuncio, written in 1517 to Isabella D'Este, Marchesa of Mantua, throws a new and unexpected light on the history of the diocese of Down and Connor. I take the liberty of reproducing the part that most interests me: "We returned by the same road to Armagh, and after visiting the Abbey of Verdelino [Newry: called in the Latin of that period *Viride Lignum*], travelled thirty-four miles further to a city on the sea, called Don [Down], where I found a bishop who comes from Viterbo, an old man of 114 years. His church contains the bodies of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and St. Columba, and here we made a station of three days on our pilgrimage." The bishop was Tiberius, but until the publication of the Nuncio's letter we did not know that he was from Viterbo in Italy; and until the publication of W. M. Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, the date of his accession was also unknown to us. From that invaluable book we learn, on the authority of registers in the *Archivo di Stato Romano*, that Tiberius was consecrated in Rome on the 12th of March, 1489, by Peter Paul, Bishop of

[1] County of Londonderry, sheet 41.

St. Agatha, assisted by two other bishops. Tiberius, according to the records of Christ's Church, Dublin, was present at a Provincial Synod holden at Drogheda 6 July, 1495. Ware says that he much beautified his cathedral. Without the least doubt, the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Down, when it came from the hands of De Courcy's workmen, was a glorious structure, but it soon shared in the misfortunes of its Anglo-Norman protectors; and so early as the year 1220, the prior and monks wrote to Henry III. that the monastery of St. Patrick had been frequently ruined and burned in war, as well as its church, which is now commencing to be re-built *(Prynne and Rymer)*. It was again plundered in 1316 by Edward Bruce. The misfortunes of the English colonists left them little leisure to re-edify the structure. It is probable Bishop Tiberius removed the ruins of the nave and transepts, and fitted up the chancel in the best way that his means would permit: for it is difficult to believe that the little building which was formed in 1789 into the present cathedral was anything more than the chancel of the great Anglo-Norman Abbey Church and Cathedral of Down. The foundations of the nave, aisles, and transepts, with perhaps the bases of the pillars, are doubtless still under the earth, and may one day be uncovered. Dr. Reeves published (*Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 229), from the Primatial Records, a decree of Tiberius, dated Carrickfergus, 20 February, 1512, which tells how he procured the necessary funds. By that decree, "with the consent of the Prior of Down, and of the Convent of the same . . . at the just and laudable petition of Master Gelasius Magnasius [Glaisne Magennis], 'he united, annexed, and incorporated' a number of smaller religious houses 'for the fabric of the Cathedral Church of Down, which is suffering ruin both in walls and roof.'"

The statement of the Nuncio, that the Bishop, in 1517, was 114 years of age, cannot be accepted as accurate; for he would have been 76 years of age when consecrated in 1489 for the See of Down. We cannot suppose that an Italian ecclesiastic would, at so great an age, have been sent to rule a diocese in Ireland; nor could we imagine that a bishop of 109 years of age would have, in 1512, the energy to undertake such radical changes in his diocese for the restoration of his cathedral. Bishop Tiberius seems to have died in 1519; for in that year Primate John Kite appointed Gelacius Magennis *Custos* of the Spiritualities of Down and Connor *Sede Vacante*; and on the 16th of April, 1620, Robert Blyth, the next bishop, was appointed ("Barbarini and Vatican Records," from Brady's *Episcopal Succession*).

Some Undescribed Bronzes.

By W. J. Knowles, M.R.I.A.

As most readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* are aware, an age of metal, known as the Bronze Age, succeeded that of stone; but we must not imagine that stone axes, flint arrow heads, and other tools of flint were at once put out of use on the introduction of metal. The change must have been very gradual, and for a long time tools and weapons of both stone and metal would be in use together. Metal would at first be scarce and difficult to procure, and could only be used by a few people, while the majority would be satisfied to use the tools of stone with which they had been accustomed.

Though the age of metal, which succeeded that of stone, has been called the Bronze Age, yet the opinion is gaining ground among archæologists that previous to bronze being introduced there was an intermediate age of copper (see Colonel Wood-Martin's paper, "The Copper Age in Ireland," page 81 of present volume). There are many axes of copper in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; in the Belfast Museums, and in private collections. These, as well as the bronze celts, are all called by country people "Danes' hatchets"; and until lately one of the copper axes would have been called by most antiquaries a bronze celt; but now experts can tell the difference by the look of the metal. George Coffey, M.R.I.A., keeper of the Academy's Museum, in a paper on the subject of Copper Celts, lately published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, London, says that there are 84 copper celts in the Dublin Museum; and counting those in other collections, he considers the number found in Ireland up to the present cannot be less than 150. The copper implements are known by their red lustre; and he says: "I selected those of copper in the first instance by the look of the metal. The subsequent analyses of eleven specimens in no case showed the selection at fault." Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin. The quantity of each substance in bronze implements varies, but the best proportions are given as nine of copper to one of tin. The mixture of tin hardens the metal and makes it more suitable than copper for cutting tools; and as soon as the properties of this alloy were known, it follows that it would soon supersede pure copper. It is even surprising that so many copper

axes have been preserved, as no doubt many would be melted down with a small quantity of tin to make bronze.

In the analyses which George Coffey caused to be made of the copper celts, it was found that even these contained, among other impurities, a small proportion of tin; and it was then a question whether those celts were really copper or only poor bronze. He has, I think, decided the question, for he gives analyses of various copper ores and copper slags, and in almost all cases there were the same traces of tin as in the copper celts. Ores varied in the quantity of tin, arsenic, antimony, and other impurities that were mixed up with the copper; and as these substances helped to harden the copper, the ore with the greatest amount of impurities would be the best for axes; and as Dr. Gladstone said, on the discussion on the paper, "the employers of such weapons would find out where the best article came from, and thus those most valuable implements would be in greatest demand among the ancient nations." In this way the discovery of bronze proper may have come about.

I have several copper celts in my collection, and show two specimens. Fig. 1 is a small axe or chisel 3¼ inches long, in shape very like many small stone axes. It thins out to the sides, and has a sort of edge-like appearance all round, like some flint axes. Like some of the earliest copper axes it may have been fashioned after a stone axe pattern, though made thinner than its stone prototype, for the sake of economizing the metal. It was found at Cullybackey a few years ago. I show in fig. 2 another copper celt, found at Craigbilly, close to Ballymena. It is rough by weathering on the two principal faces, and more or less squared at the sides. It is 4⅝ inches long, and 2¾ inches broad near the cutting edge. It would be hard to tell whether these two specimens had been cast in a mould or hammered into shape. I have several better made specimens of copper showing a smooth and well finished surface, and also with

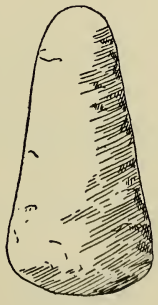


Fig. 1.
COPPER CELT FOUND AT CULLYBACKEY.

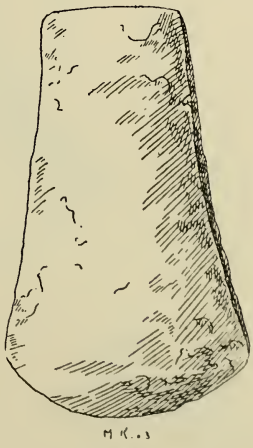


Fig. 2.
COPPER CELT FOUND AT CRAIGBILLY.

expanding edges like those on plate 4 of Colonel Wood-Martin's paper, p. 88. The copper celts are always without ornamentation, while many bronze celts show various patterns, composed mostly of punched lines and dots.

In fig. 3 is shown a very fine specimen of a bronze axe of the flat and earliest kind. It is 8¾ inches long, and 7 inches broad at the widest part. It weighs 2¾ lb. It is decorated round the sides on

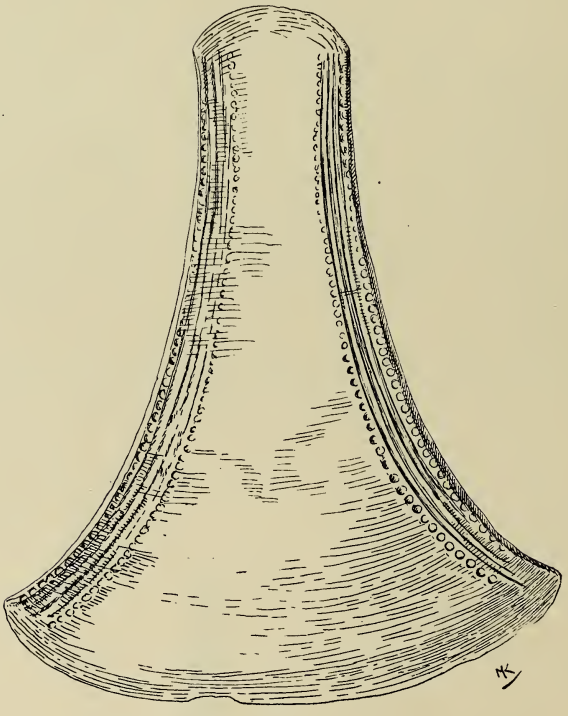


Fig. 3.
BRONZE CELT (FLAT TYPE) FOUND AT DUNNYGARRON.

both faces with four sunk lines and two rows of dots extending from the edge to the butt. It was found in 1871 in Dunnygarron, close to the mearing of that townland with Cullybackey, while digging potato "shoughs." I got it direct from the finder. I show in fig. 4 another fine flat celt, longer but narrower than fig. 3. It is 9⅜ inches long by 5¼ inches at its broadest part. It is nicely decorated near the lower part with rows of short punched lines, and margined along the top of the ornamented space by cross lines. Lozenge-shaped facets have been formed on the sides by hammering, as shown in fig. 5. This specimen was found while cutting turf about three years ago near

Cloughmills. It is not in my own possession, but the owner has kindly allowed me to describe and figure it. A very good celt of the palstave

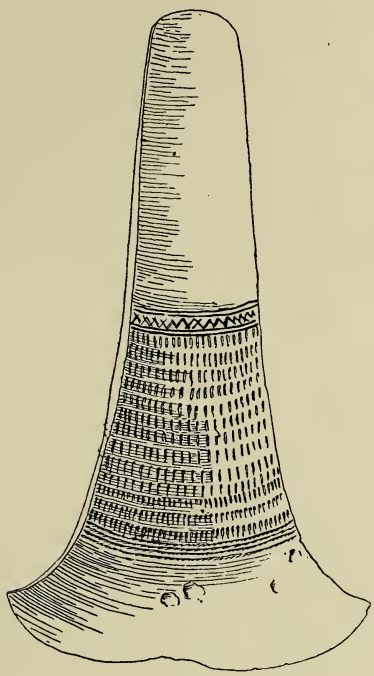


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

FLAT BRONZE CELT, WITH SIDE VIEW.

kind is shown in fig. 6. It is 5⅝ inches long, and 2¾ inches broad at the widest part, and is in good preservation. It was found in Tyanee, County Derry, about four years ago, and I obtained it direct from the finder. This kind of bronze celts is the next earliest to the flat celts, and we meet every sort of gradation from the edge being only slightly turned up, forming rudimentary flanges, till the wings are so broad that on being turned inward they meet and form a sort of socket on each side. Sir John Evans applies the term

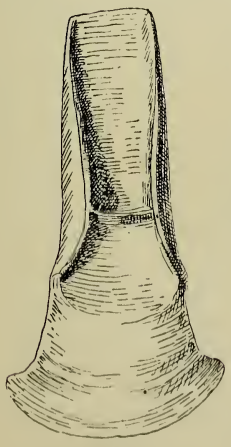


Fig. 6.
WINGED CELT OR PALSTAVE FOUND AT TYANEE, CO. DERRY.

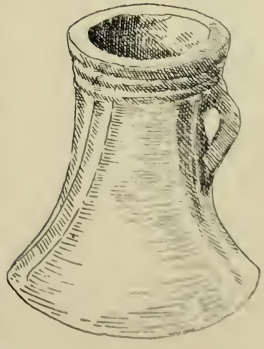


Fig. 7.
BRONZE SOCKETED CELT FOUND NEAR BALLYMONEY.

palstave to two varieties; viz., winged celts, which have their wings hammered over so as to form what may be termed external sockets to the blade; and to those with the portion of the blade which lies between the side flanges, and above the stop, thinner than that which is below. In fig. 7 I show a very good example of a bronze socketed celt. It is about 4 inches long, and 3¼ inches broad at its widest part. It shows several facets on each side, and is in good preservation. It was found in a bog near Ballymoney a few years ago. This is a still later kind of bronze celt, and may have been derived from the palstave kind; but the direct descent has not been traced in this country, though such descent has been made out in some other countries of Europe. Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury), in *Prehistoric Times*, gives figures of the supposed methods of shafting the three different kinds of axes above described. The flat axe is made to fit into a slit at the end of the shaft, and is wrapped round in crossed fashion with gut or hide to hold it firm. The shaft of the palstave is formed of a forked branch, one end of which is short, and has a slit in the centre into which the axe fits, and it is then bound round with gut, hide, or cord. The shaft of the socketed celt is a similar branch, one end being made to fit the socket, and there is then an additional tying from the ear of the celt to the shaft. Several savage peoples have used forked branches in a somewhat similar way for shafting their stone axes.

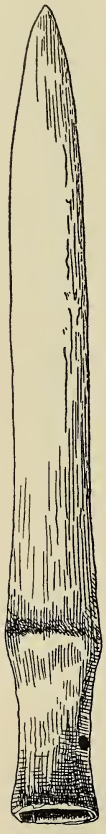


Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

BRONZE SOCKETED KNIFE AND PORTION OF HANDLE FOUND AT GLENBUSH.

I show in figs. 8 and 9 a bronze socketed knife and portion of the wooden handle which still remained in the socket when found. If care had been taken, the whole handle might have been obtained. By steeping in a solution of alum, and afterwards in boiled linseed oil, I have succeeded in making the portion of handle retain its shape and full size, and it is shown in fig. 9. The knife is 10 inches long, and is in good preservation. It was found in peat, 6 feet from the surface, and about 3 feet from the clay, at Glenbush, four years ago, and I obtained it direct from the finder. I show lastly in fig. 10 a bronze sword, 23⅛ inches long, which was found while draining in a small dried-up lake near Slieve Mis several years ago. When found it was greatly curved, but the dealer from whom I got it had it very

successfully straightened. Two of the rivets which fastened the handle are still in their place.

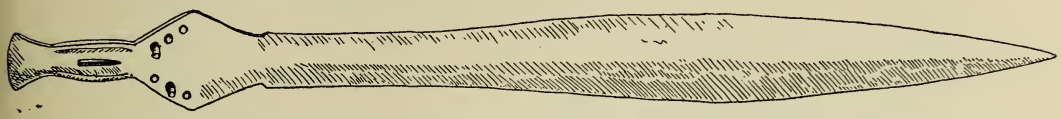


Fig. 10.
BRONZE SWORD FOUND NEAR SLIEVE MIS.

The specimens above described are, I think, nearly in chronological order. Swords were among the latest implements of the Bronze Age.

Tory Island.

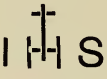
By Francis Joseph Bigger, M.R.I.A.

THERE is a small graveyard on the island, situated on the edge of the sea east of the round tower; it is walled in and in fair order. There are only two gravestones with inscriptions, and they are modern. There are many wooden crosses similar to those erected on the mainland. There is the shaft of an ancient cross with the arms missing; it has the appearance of the arms having been dowelled into it. One large cross-inscribed slab stands against the west wall, with three or four smaller natural stones cross inscribed. East of the graveyard, above the pier, on a square built base, is the high Tau Cross. The round tower is of the smallest class, and wants half of the cap; the door is in good order. From the exposed situation of this tower, and its likelihood to suffer at any time, it would be wise for the Board of Works to consider the advisability of rebuilding and making perfect the whole roof, and thus go far to preserve for future centuries this unique structure. Close to the round tower, on the east side, is a square altar with three fragments of interlaced cross slabs upon it, and the remains of another upright cross having a figure carved upon it. There are also a coffer-shaped font (?) built into it, a small cup-stone, a hammer-stone, and the base of a cross. The whole of these remains are sadly in need of attention, being in a neglected state and liable to further destruction. As it is, in comparing what I saw with what existed in 1853, exactly fifty years ago, when the place was examined by Edmund Getty (see old *Ulster Journal*, vol. i, page 106), very much of these exceedingly interesting ruins

so intimately associated with Saint Columbcille have been destroyed; the most important being the remains of the old abbey, including the chancel arch, not a fragment of which is now in existence. For further information regarding Tory, the reader is referred to the above-mentioned article; also to two articles in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, vol. i, page 331; vol. ii, page 105.

The following are the two inscriptions in the graveyard, both to the memory of strangers. The inhabitants of Tory themselves have not caused any inscription to be cut: not that they are anything the worse on that account.

Here Lieth the Body of
John Kennedy Stone Cutter
Native of Dublin
Departed this Life
Jany 1830 Aged 47 Years
Requiescant in pace



Erected
by
Henry Redmond
Light Keeper
in memory of his grandson
Henry Redmond Buckle
who died 9th August 1875
aged 2½ years

In a small enclosure, close to the lighthouse, a slab is built into the wall with the following inscription upon it:

Within
this enclosure
lay buried 8 bodies
recovered from H.M.S.
"Wasp"
which ship
was wrecked
on Tory Island
on the 22nd September
1884

Archbishop Miler Magrath.

SINCE the publication of my paper upon "The Castle and Territory of Termon Magrath," in the April and July numbers of this Journal, I have received two sets of notes relating to the Archbishop: one is from W. H. Grattan Flood, Co. Wexford; the other from George U. Macnamara, Co. Clare. I subjoin them. I have also received a pedigree of the Archbishop's descendants, which I hope to give on another occasion. BELMORE.

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON MILER MAGRATH.

1523. Born.
1540. Joined the Franciscans.
1549. Ordained Priest.
1556–64. Laboured in Spain and the Netherlands.
1565. Consecrated Bishop of Down.
1567, May 31. Acknowledged the Queen's Supremacy.
1570. Advanced to Clogher.
1571. Translated to Cashel.
1575. Married Dame Amy O'Meara, daughter of John O'Meara, Lisiniska, Co. Tipperary, by whom he had issue:
Turlogh, Redmond, Bryan, Marcus, James, Mary, Cecilia, Ann, and Ellice.
1578, May 14. Grant of English Liberty to Miler Magrath and his issue.
1578. Leased the Priory of Thome and Toomerara, Co. Tipperary.
1582–3, Jan. 7. Given the Sees of Waterford and Lismore *in commendam* [24th of Eliz., Jan. 7th was Jan. 7, 1582].
1592, Dec. 19. Again given these same Sees.
1607. Resigned these Sees.
1612, Jan. 29. Faculties granted by the Apostolic Nuncio to Fr. Mamin O'Doulery to receive Archbishop Miler Magrath, *at his own request*, into the *Catholic Church*.
1622, Nov. 14. Death of Archbishop Magrath, aged 100 years.

Archbishop Fitzgibbon died in Cork Prison on May 6, 1578 (*Propus Catholicæ* of Anthony McBruodin, Prague, 1669, p. 432).

(Penes *Wm. Grattan Flood*, culled from an old MS. Life of Miler Magrath. Brenan, Meehan, and Mooney give a number of details from MSS. in the Franciscan Library, Louvain.)

[*Bishop Mant*, in a table in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. i, pp. 741–2, makes Miler Magrath to have held the Sees of Waterford and Lismore, *in commendam*, twice; viz., 1582–9 and 1592–1607; and Killala and Achonry, 1607–22.]

Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel.

In the very interesting paper by the Earl of Belmore on Miler (*recte* Maolmuire) Magrath, in parts 2 and 3, vol. ix, of this Journal—although many valuable extracts from the Dublin *Funeral Entries*, etc., are quoted—I miss all reference to the descendants of Terlagh and Redmond, the eldest and second sons of that worthy.[1]

Terlagh Magrath's line, until its presumed extinction towards the end of the seventeenth century, is very fully given in the *Complete Baronetage* by "G. E. C."[2] He is there styled as of "*Allevolan*," the "*Aylewullane*," Co. Tipperary, of *Funeral Entry*, vol. vii, p. 188. Terlagh's son and heir, Sir John, succeeded his father in 1627, and was created baronet by patent of 5 June, 1629. He was Sheriff of Co. Tipperary in the memorable year of 1641; and for the part he took in the struggle was excepted from pardon of life and estate in 1652.

Sir John's son, Terlagh, second baronet—unless we assume a fourth baronet of that name, a brother or younger son of Sir John—apparently failed to regain possession of his estates at the Restoration; for he is described as residing at Fortanemore (par. of Tulla), Co. Clare, on 23 May, 1671, and joining with one Nicholas Magrath, presumably a relative, as trustee to a settlement of land.[3]

The baronetcy apparently came to an end on the death, without issue male, of Sir John, the third baronet, eldest son and heir of Sir Terlagh.

As regards Redmond Magrath, the second son of the Archbishop, and his sole executor, it will be of interest to state that some of his descendants, until a few years ago, held a very respectable position in Co. Clare, holding the lands of Kilbarron, where they resided for many generations.

Redmond's eldest son, Edmond Magrath, styled "of Derrymore" (par. of Feakle), Co. Clare, was a "transplanted Papist," who was evicted out of Ballymore, in Kilnemanagh, Co. Tipperary, having

[1] The Funeral Entries in Ulster's Office gave no assistance in this respect after the seventeenth century; and at the time I had no other source of information at hand.

[2] George Edward Cokayne, Clarenceaux King-at-Arms. Vol. ii (1625–49), pp. 259-60, edit. 1902.

[3] *Vide* Answer, 26 June, 1679, by Tadhg og Macnamara Reagh, of Leaghort, to a Chancery Bill, *Burke v. Macnamara*, 27 May, 1679.

large tracts of land assigned him as compensation in Clare.[1] For certain discreditable services rendered to the Parliamentarians, this Redmond Magrath was restored to 800 acres of his paternal estate in Co. Tipperary by Cromwell, as is certified by a letter of the Lord-Protector himself, dated 11 March, 1657-8, and still in existence.[2] Edmond Magrath of Derrymore died in June 1683,[3] leaving a son and heir, Redmond, who was afterwards attainted, and all his estates forfeited, for faithful service to the Stuarts; thus making up, as it were, for the treachery of his father.[4]

There still exists, I believe, in the possession of the representative of the Kilbarron family, an old eighteenth-century pedigree, a copy of which I have recently seen, that gives a pretty full account of the many descendants of Redmond, second son of the Archbishop, some of whom attained high military rank and honours in the French service.

The only male representative of this line, and possibly of the Archbishop, now living, is a young gentleman (Dr. E. J. Magrath) who resides, I have been told, at Upper Norwood, London. There are, however, several descendants in the female line in Co. Clare and other parts of the world.

In estimating Miler's character, one must irresistibly come to the conclusion that he was a consummate trimmer and no credit to any religion. He was one of the few men of his time whose personality so deeply and unfavourably impressed itself on the minds of his countrymen, that, although he was considered the handsomest man in Ireland in his day[5]—a physical advantage which, like charity, covereth a multitude of sins all the world over—he is still spoken of with horror and contempt by the peasantry of Munster. None of his contemporaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, priest or layman, looked upon him as worthy of respect. How could it be otherwise? He was, in March 1580, deprived by the Pope (Gregory XIII.) of his bishopric of Down and Connor, "for heresy and many other crimes."[6] What, indeed, can be said in favour of an ecclesiastic who, besides the revenues of four bishoprics, appropriated to his own personal uses the fruits of seventy

[1] These lands were, according to the *B. of Dist. and Forf.*, Fortanemore, Glendree, Cloondanagh, and parts of Roslara, Uggoon, and Affick, in par. of Tulla; Clogher, and part of Annaghneal, in par. of Kilnoe; and Annagh, Lecarrow, and part of Lecarrowangarry, in par. of Feakle; nearly all which lands belonged to evicted Macnamaras and Molonys, the ancient and rightful owners.

[2] *Vide* Prendergast's *Crom. Sett.*, pp. 154, 382.

[3] *Vide* Frost's *Hist. of Clare*, p. 595.

[4] Inquis. at Ennis, 22 July, 1691; Frost's *Hist. of Clare*, pp. 332, 581.

[5] Dr. G. Petrie in *Dub. Penny Journal*, vol. i, p. 202.

[6] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, s. v, Magrath, Meyler.

spiritual livings.[1] It should not be forgotten, too, that all this revenue was enjoyed by Miler as a wage for the spiritual care of a flock which, with the exception of a few foreign settlers, it is probable may not have exceeded a dozen sincere Protestant souls, if so many.

The impoverishment of his Sees by the alienation of their revenues in favour of his own relations and connections was notorious all over Ireland. On 4 August, 1607, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin made a long report to the Privy Council on the scandalous abuses in the dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Lismore, and Waterford ; the cases of Cashel and Emly being the most disgraceful.[2]

The fruits of the rectory and vicarage of Ballydrinan, and the vicarage of Mortalstown, in Lismore, then vacant, were appropriated by Mrs. Gyles Magrath, widow, and daughter of the Archbishop.

One Donough O'Hogan, incumbent of Federt (Fethard), in the archdeaconry of Cashel, was forced, before he could get into possession, to make a compact with James Magrath, one of the Archbishop's sons, by which said James was to retain for himself two parts of the living.

The archdeaconry of Cashel, valued at £30 *per annum*, was leased to Marcus Magrath, another son of the Archbishop, who received the entire profits.

A long list of livings, the fruits of which were enjoyed by Terence, Redmond, James, and Marcus, sons of the Archbishop.

A brother of Miler, named Neale (*recte* Niall) Magrath, received the profits of the vicarage of "Colman"; Marcus, the Archbishop's son, "a mere lay person," enjoyed the fruits of the vicarage of "Killenotele"; and the Archbishop's son-in-law, James Butler, received those of the vicarage of "Kilshean."

It must be admitted, I think, that, as Harris remarks, the Archbishop was "*no good Man.*"

A final judgment as to the honesty of Miler's conversion to Protestantism will, probably, after all is said, be arrived at by each individual according to his own religious bias. There are, however, certain facts which, to the unprejudiced mind, make it highly probable that he was not sincere. Besides the popular tradition that he never really changed his religious views, and, among others, the reasons assigned by the Earl of Belmore in his paper, it is well to note that, *as far as we know*, all the children of the Archbishop—although born,

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, quoting Sir John Davis, 1604.
[2] Cal. of State Papers, Ir.

of course, after he conformed in 1567—were brought up Roman Catholics, and lived and died in that faith.[1] The very curious cryptic and enigmatical words of his epitaph—composed by himself the year before his death, when he found the world slipping from under his feet—although they may seem to hint, as Harris ingeniously suggests, "at the separate existence of the Soul and Body,"[2] may also be interpreted as a veiled admission that he considered himself an interloper in Cashel, and that to Down alone, and its temporalities, had he any valid claims, as having been appointed to that See by the Pope.[3] It is plain, I think, that he endeavoured to embody in this inscription some fact or idea which he did not wish to express more fully; and as he knew well that his marriage, according to canon law, was invalid, he could not openly avow himself a Roman Catholic without practically throwing the slur of illegitimacy on his own children, besides materially injuring their worldly prospects. Be this as it may, the verses at the end deprecating the adverse judgment of posterity, which he foresaw would sully his name, shew plainly that his conscience was not altogether at ease.

Miler, it appears, was in England in the summer of 1592; for there is a letter from him, dated at Greenwich, the 26th June in that year, to his "very loving wiffe Any [*recte* Ainé] Meary," to have his cousin "Derby Kragh" sent out of the country, or he would be taken up; and advising his wife to burn all letters.[4] Miler's cousin, "Derby Kragh," was Dermod Creagh, *alias* McCragh, Magrath, or Macrehe, R. C. Bishop of Cork, whose name was latinized into "Dermitius Craius."[5] It is somewhat doubtful whether he was a Magrath or a Creagh; but it is very unlikely that the Archbishop would miscall a kinsman and namesake; so I think his real name was Creagh. The supposed origin of this family is rather mythical: perhaps they were MacCraiths, who in early times threw off the "Mac." This incident, however, shews Miler in rather a good light, but tells unmistakably of the double game he was then playing.

[1] *Vide* Prerog. Will of *Therlagh Magrath* of Gurteens, Co. Tipperary, 2 February, 1717, who desires his body "to be interred after haveing the rites of the Roman Catholic Church." He was, there can be no doubt, a descendant of the Archbishop. All the descendants of Edmond of Derrymore were, as far as I know, Roman Catholics. [But James Magrath must, I think, have had to take the oath of supremacy, to enable him to hold his grant of Termon Magrath.—B.]

[2] Harris's *Ware's Bishops*, p. 485.

[3] I do not think that follows. He would be equally a bishop whether the "Sedes Episcopi" was at Down or Cashel.—B.

[4] Cal. of State Papers, Ir.—Hamilton.

[5] *Vide Collections of Irish Church History*, by Very Rev. Laur. Renehan, D.D., vol. i, p. 274. Dub., 1861; State Papers, 26 June, 1592; and Brady, *Episc. Succ.*, ii, p. 89.

The "*Scathfuc*" mentioned by Lord Belmore (p. 51) as occurring in grant of lands to Donough, the Archbishop's father, is undoubtedly the townland of Seeavoc, verging on Lough Derg, where the stone chair of St. Dabheog, of whose *tearmon* the Magraths of Termon Magrath were the hereditary *comharbas*, was to be seen in the days of Dr. John O'Donovan, and is still there for aught I know.[1] The family were a branch of the Magraths of Thomond, chief poets and historians to the O'Briens, and must have settled in Termon Dabheog at some period *ante* 1344; for this is the earliest date I can find in the annals of the death of a Magrath filling the office of *Comharba*, or lay administrator, of the lands of Termon Dabheog.

Sir Richard Carney, Ulster, *temp.* Jac. II., gives the Magrath coat-of-arms as follows, which appears to be identical with that on tomb of the Archbishop:

1. Argent, 3 lions passant gules.
2. Or, a dexter hand fesseways, couped at wrist ppr., holding a cross formée fitchée azure.
3. Gules, a dexter hand fesseways, couped at wrist ppr., holding a battle axe or.
4. Argent, an antelope trippant sable attired or.

GEORGE U. MACNAMARA, *Hon. Loc. Sec. R.S.A.I.*,
Bankyle, Corofin, Co. Clare.

ERRATA.

"TERMON MAGRATH."

Page 101, line 5.—For *Henry* Ussher, read *James* Ussher.

Page 107, Miler Magrath's Epitaph.—My attention has been drawn to the pointing; and I find that *Ware* has (*in his Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 485) no stop after Magrath, and a full stop after *Carmen*, in the first line of it (which is only a heading). Also in the third line, a full stop after *soli*. In the fourth line, a comma after *succedens*. In the seventh line, a full stop after *tuis*. And in the eighth line there is no stop after *ubi*, but a semicolon after the fourth *sum*. Referring to the frontispiece, there appear to be only full stops on the tomb itself. The eighth and ninth lines read thus in Ware:

"Hic ubi sum positus non sum, sum non ubi non sum;
Sum nec in ambobus, sum sed utroque loco. 1621."

Page 110, line 31.—For *1633*, read *1639*.

[It is a common custom in inscriptions of this period to add a stop between each word in the centre of the line, the modern punctuation not being used. This is an excellent arrangement, and is sometimes adopted at present in similar work with excellent effect. Ware's punctuation was doubtless his own.—ED.]

[1] A. IV. M., note, vol. iii, p. 104. Seeavoc = *Saidhe Dhabheoig*; i.e., seat, or chair, of Dabheog.

Miscellanea

Ancient Irish Bronze Ornament.

When spending a short holiday in Newcastle, Co. Down, in the spring of 1894, I occupied some of my spare time in searching the sand dunes—so well known to archæologists—for worked flints. I was fortunate enough to pick up the small bronze which is here figured. It was lying exposed on one of those clayey bands which the wind weathers out into shelf-like strata. Associated with it were a good many pellets, which had probably been discharged at the rabbits which abound on the sands. These pellets and the bronze had, owing to their being able to resist the wind and storms which are ever shifting the sands, naturally gravitated until they reached the firm clay land on which they rested side by side, representatives of

widely different eras. It is impossible to conjecture what the object originally was. The circular portion is exactly one inch in diameter, and the wing, by which it apparently had originally been fastened to something, extends three-eighths of an inch from the periphery of the circular portion. The wing has still a portion of an iron rivet. The design is produced in relief, and the portions chased off are filled in with enamel. All is now, owing to oxidization, reduced to a uniform dark green colour. The design speaks for itself.

William Swanston.

Old Tombstones, Templepatrick, Co. Antrim.

In the old churchyard in the demesne of Castle Upton, Templepatrick, I recently came across two tombstones sunk to their tops in the earth. They are both cut with raised letters (an unusual feature in this graveyard), on small slabs of sandstone. They are situated close to the grave where William Orr, who was executed in 1797, is buried. The following are copies of the inscriptions:

HERE · LYETH · THE
BODY · OF · WILIAM
GRACE · WHO · DE
PARTED · THIS · LIFE
MARCH · THE · 16
1723 AGED 23
YEARS.

HERE LYE
TH BODY OF
WILLIAM MARTIN
SON TO GEORGE
MARTIN WHO DEP
ARTED THIS LIFE SEP
TEMBER THE 11 1736
AGED 22 YEARS
AND IAMES MARTIN
WHO DIED IANWA [ ]
THE [ ] 1709 AGED
(broken).

F. J. B.

Hillsborough Fort.

During the King's and Queen's visit to North of Ireland Horse Show, on 27 July, 1903, the sentinels at the Royal Stand in the Show Grounds were the "Hillsborough Warders," who excited more or less curiosity owing to the quaint old-fashioned uniform, plume in hat, and great broadswords worn by the men. The following cutting from the *Lisburn Standard* of 25 July may not be uninteresting:

"In connection with the historic corps from Hillsborough which is to take part in Monday's ceremonials in connection with the visit of their Majesties to Belfast, it may prove interesting (writes a contemporary) to point out that the fort at Hillsborough was erected by Sir Arthur Hill, son of Sir Moyses Hill, as a protection against the Irish rebels in 1641–1642. Although Lisburn was the scene of sanguinary fighting, Hillsborough seems to have escaped. As the Pass of Kilwarlin, then situated in the midst of bogs and dense woods, was a position of great importance, the fort was built to command it and the road from Dublin to Belfast. The enclosure in which the fort stands is of considerable extent, and is surrounded by fine trees. The building comprises a square tower with flankers or bastions at the angles. It is said that the intern was adorned with fresco work on the plaster of ceiling, etc. In 1660 it was made a Royal garrison, with a constable to command the same, at 3*s.* 4*d.* per day, and twenty-four wardens at 6*d.* each per day. The office of constable was granted to the Hill family for ever by the King. The wardens, or castlemen, as they are locally termed, still wear the quaint uniform of King William's Watch Guards; viz., blue coat with red lappels, cocked hat with silver lace and a red feather, white breeches, and gaiters. The uniform, about fifty years ago, was considerably modernized. King William III., on his progress to the Boyne, slept in the fort, and several of his proclamations are dated from it."

C.

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